

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1894.

ART. I.—DR. BYROM AND THE BEGINNINGS OF METHODISM.*

No one who wishes to study the picturesque details of the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century can afford to overlook the journal and letters of Dr. John Byrom, of Manchester, whose "Christians, awake, salute the happy morn," has been a treasure of the Church for so many years. His papers lay for a long time "scattered in unarranged confusion throughout the ancient and somewhat nondescript rooms" of the two family homes at Kersall and Quay Street, near Manchester, but happily proved, on careful inspection, to be in almost as perfect condition as when the writer left them ninety years before. The friend of Bishop Warburton and Dr. Bentley, of William Law and the Wesleys, thus stood revealed "in his habit as he lived." Few men could bear such unveiling better than John Byrom. His portrait as an undergraduate, our only authentic likeness, is a fitting preface to his journals, published by the Cheetham Society. As we look at this exquisite face we understand how a man so bright and intelligent, so pure-minded and even-tempered, won for himself hosts of friends who never wearied of his company.

Byrom belonged to an old Lancashire family. He was born at Kersall Cell, Broughton, near Manchester, on February 29,

*The Bible opens with the genesis of the world. We begin a new volume of the *Methodist Review* with an account of some of the details in the genesis of Methodism, traced for us by the capable hand of Rev. John Telford, B.A., of Guildford, England, a well-known specialist in Wesleyan history, author of a *Sketch of the Life and Work of John Wesley*, *The Life of Charles Wesley*, and of *Sketches of London Methodism from Wesley's Day*.—ED.

1—FIFTH SERIES, VOL. X.

1692, and studied at Chester under "that once eminent school-master, Mr. Francis Harper." He became a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1714, and, after studying medicine at Montpellier, returned to England in 1718 with his diploma. He soon abandoned the healing art for the profession of shorthand. He had married his cousin in February, 1721, and he maintained his family by teaching an ingenious system of shorthand which he had invented. The characters were singularly elegant, but could not be written rapidly enough to win conspicuous success. His house was near the "Old Church" in Manchester, where his family had been prosperous merchants and linen drapers; but much of his time was spent in London among his pupils, who formed a kind of society. Byrom was styled "grand master," and used to open the session with an address. He was so tall that he had difficulty in finding a horse high enough for him. He was once eclipsed by a gentleman from Worcestershire "almost a head taller than I; people talk to me as if I were grown a mere dwarf." The necessities of his position as a professor of shorthand led him to move freely in the literary and clerical circles of the metropolis. The Wesleys used his system and zealously pushed his interests among their friends, so that Byrom naturally spent a good deal of time in their company after their return from Georgia and during the early days of the evangelical revival. He never became a Methodist. He had learned on the Continent to study and admire the mystics, and could not understand John Wesley's verdict that these writers made good works appear "mean, flat, and insipid." Byrom was also a devoted disciple of William Law, and warmly championed his master in the controversy with John Wesley.

Byrom was eleven years older than the founder of Methodism. He was already a man of settled views and established reputation when the two brothers John and Charles Wesley were led by their friend Peter Böhler to see their own want of living faith. The older man, steeped in mysticism, was not able to understand the intensely practical zeal of the great field preachers and often judged them somewhat harshly; but we owe to his journal many pleasing glimpses of them and their friends in London. Byrom has a touch of the genius of the great diarist Pepys, and his pages often make old scenes live again for

his readers. Byrom was a man of considerable literary power. Under the pseudonym of "John Shadow" he contributed some delightful papers on "Dreaming" to the *Spectator* in 1714. His description of the look granted him one night into the hearts of his friends, "inclosed in transparent vials and preserved in a liquor which looked like spirits of wine," is a very happy effort. Still better is the letter of September 22, which professes to chronicle the adventures in which some of his correspondents had been engaged during sleep, or, as he calls it, "that moonshine in the brain." The story of the man who fasted all day and went to bed with a handsome slice of bride-cake under his pillow in order to read his future fortunes furnishes one of his most racy passages. "In the morning his memory happened to fail him, and he could recollect nothing but an odd fancy that he had eaten his cake; which being found upon search reduced to a few crumbs, he is resolved to remember more of his dreams another time, believing from this that there may possibly be somewhat of truth in them." The whole paper, with its sketch of the havoc or deliverance wrought by some traveling tinker among the city dreamers, is excellent. Byrom's verses in praise of Miss Joanna, or "Jug," Bentley, the eleven-year old daughter of Dr. Bentley, the master of Trinity College, take high rank as an English pastoral. His contributions to the *Spectator* remind us of a letter written by the Rev. Adam Clarke to his friend Mr. Thomas Allan, a Methodist solicitor in the city of London, whose son founded the Allan Library. The original lies before us as we write. Wesley was all his life long a zealous friend of literature, and did not forget the labors of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, who, like himself, were old Carthusians.

LONDON, December 29, 1824.

DEAR MR. ALLAN: The anecdote concerning which you inquire stands thus in substance: One day, not long before his death, Mr. J. Wesley, discoursing with me on the origin of Methodism, so called, and the great necessity there was of a reformation in these lands when it appeared, made the following observations. During the time of the protectorate the nation got into a spiritual frenzy, many imagining that the reign of Christ upon earth would shortly commence. Several judicious and pious men in vain lifted up their voices against this delusion. Charles succeeded to the throne, and, totally void of religion himself and of all fear of God, he endeavored to destroy not only the form but the power of Christianity.

He unhappily in a great measure succeeded, and the nation went from one extreme to the other, till at last, in his court and in the kingdom, scarcely a vestige of scriptural Christianity remained. As far as it lay in his power he struggled to change the political and ecclesiastical government of the country. Absolute, despotic monarchy in the State and popery in the Church he labored to introduce. He was a worthless and a wicked king. His brother James thought he could carry into effect what Charles had begun, but was obliged to abdicate the throne before he could finish. During their reigns ruthless bigotry and a vile and cruel superstition prevailed, which afterward became replaced by irreligion and infidelity. Not only the religion, but the manners, of the country were debased. Religion was the butt against which the profane buffoon shot all his raillery, and decency and order had nearly receded from all ranks of society. William, who succeeded James II, was of a different temper to that which prevailed in the nation. But the waters had been let out and were becoming irresistible; the very being of religion had been awfully threatened. The nation was engaged in wars in the reign of Queen Anne; and at that time God raised up Mr. Addison and his associates to lash the prevailing vices and ridiculous and profane customs of the country and to show the excellence of Christianity and Christian institutions. The *Spectators*, written with all the simplicity, elegance, and force of the English language, were everywhere read, and were the first instruments in the hands of God to check the mighty and growing profanity and call men back to religion and decency and common sense. Methodism, in the order of God, succeeded, and revived and spread scriptural and experimental Christianity over the nation. And now what hath God wrought! This was the substance of the conversation.

I am, dear Mr. Allan, yours truly,

ADAM CLARKE.

Such a sketch of the connection between Methodism and the *Spectator*, as traced by Wesley himself, possesses peculiar interest. No man recognized more clearly than John Wesley the power of the press; no great leader more zealously availed himself of it to supplement and carry on his own work as an evangelist.

We must not linger longer on this tempting theme. Our purpose is rather to see through Byrom's keen eyes the England of the great revival and the men who have left their mark so broad and deep on the history of the world. In the early pages of his journal we learn from Law's future disciple and champion that the great mystic "has the character of a vain, conceited fellow." Byrom talks with Mr. Rivington, the publisher, at his shop—"the Bible and Crown" in St. Paul's Churchyard—on December 31, 1734. Mr. Riving-

ton "said he was going to print a new edition of Thomas à Kempis; that Mr. Wesley and Dr. Heylin were to overlook it; that it seemed to be in little short sentences and two forms of printing; that Mr. Law was curate to Dr. Heylin and was a gay parson; that Dr. Heylin said his book would have been better if he had traveled that way himself."

The references made in the journals to Dr. Bentley's visits to London for the Westminster School election deserve the attention of students of Charles Wesley's life. Queen Elizabeth had given the school the privilege of sending a certain number of its queen's scholars every year to Christ Church, Oxford, and to Trinity College, Cambridge. A lad who took a high place at Westminster thus had his way open to the university. Dr. Bentley had to choose his boys on these annual visits. These facts explain Byrom's allusions. On April 23, 1724, we read that "Dr. Thomas Bentley came to Westminster election last week." Next year, on April 27, Byrom was himself present at the election. He gives an amusing picture of the day:

Dr. Bentley gave me a ticket in the school, and I dined in the hall. I ate some hashed calf's head, pigeon pie, lobster. They were none of them good, nor the wine. Went to a coffee house after dinner with Ord and Gordon; two dishes, 4*d.* About five went to the school again. I sat within the bar and heard all the declamations; pretty good verses. Gave my verses about St. George and the Dragon to a lad, that is, Davis did. The subject was, *Ne sit pro teste vetustus*. They took, and the lad had some money given him.

His future friend, Charles Wesley, was present at this ceremony, for he was captain of the school in 1725, and next year was himself elected to Christ Church.

Byrom had many leisure hours in London. How he spent them a few entries may show. He speaks of a visit which "Sister Ann and I" paid to Sion College Library, then in its old home on London Wall. "It seems the books are not chained, but the librarian fetches them as anybody wants them. He spoke very civilly." On May 25, 1725, we meet a record which reminds us of the plague of highwaymen from which England then suffered, and of the wonderful work which the Wesleys did among the criminals of the day:

Yesterday passed by our gate here [at Gray's Inn] the famous Jonathan Wild in a cart between two other malefactors, in a nightgown, without a

hat, with a book in his hand, crying. There was the greatest mob imaginable, and they hooted him along. He took opium to poison himself last night, as they say, but it did not quite take effect. He was very loath to be hanged when he came to it. The mob pelted him at the very gallows.

A few days after this scene Byrom, on his way to Woolwich with his friends, "read Jonathan Wild to them." No doubt this was the usual penny-a-liner's narrative of the highwayman's crimes and death. Two or three weeks afterward, he says, "We all took a walk to St. Pancras Churchyard, where we read the monuments and saw where Jonathan Wild was buried, whom the papists had taken up." Crime went on unchecked by the terrors of the law. In 1728 he mentions that Sir G. Heathcote had been robbed "in Paul's Churchyard, and many other street robberies committed of late—very many." "Alas, alas!" he writes in August, 1723, "I cannot meet with a steel pen no manner of where; I believe I have asked at three hundred and seventy-five places." Byrom's shorthand writing made him anxious to get a fine-pointed pen, but he met with ill success. In other entries we see him lighted from Holborn by a link-boy, to whom he gave two pence. Then he adds, "I ate heartily, having dined with Duke Humphrey." On Sunday night, November 26, 1727, as he and his friends walked home they were greatly diverted by the bellman's lines:

If that we do believe a future state,
Let us repent before it is too late.
Although we now may be in health and strength,
The life of man is but a span's length.
Let's make our calling and election sure.
Past one o'clock.

What changes have come over London another quotation will show. In June, 1729, he had agreed to go out with his friends to Islington Wells at half past four in the morning, but got up too late for the walk. He went, however, to Mr. Cockayne's, who took his visitors "to his country house, just by the turnpike beyond Whitechapel, where we had cherries and a bottle of good port, the cherries very good and ripe, and I ate some off the tree."

Byrom gives some suggestive details about his native town. There were only three families in Manchester between 1720 and 1736 who kept their carriages. He pays a warm tribute

to Mr. Clayton, one of the Oxford Methodists then settled in Manchester, whose zeal had gathered seventy people, all above sixty years old, to be confirmed by the bishop at Salford Chapel in December, 1733. Three years later we find that Clayton and a young clergyman from Christ Church called on Byrom "for Mr. Wesley's letter from Georgia. I drank tea with them and Mr. Rivington in the afternoon. Mr. Rivington gave them a painful account of the spread of deism in London. He said that many of the young men of his parish had left off all public service and professed deism, and that there was a visible decline in the sale of good books."

We now reach the most valuable pages of Byrom's journals. He knew most of the friends of the Wesleys in London, so that he had access to the best sources of information about them and their work. So far back as December, 1725, Byrom had called on Mr. Hutton at Westminster with a friend and received a hearty welcome. This Mr. Hutton was a clergyman of the Church of England, who had resigned his living because he did not feel free to take the oath of allegiance on the accession of George I. He lived in College Street, Westminster, where he took in Westminster scholars as boarders. His wife also received some lady lodgers. The clergyman had heard about Byrom, and they soon plunged into a discussion as to systems of shorthand. It was at this Mr. Hutton's house that John and Charles Wesley generally stayed when in London ten years later. Young Hutton and his sister both looked upon John Wesley as their spiritual father, for it was under a sermon of his, preached in their father's house from the words, "One thing is needful," that both of them received great spiritual good. Mr. James Hutton was apprenticed to Mr. Inn⁷, the bookseller, on Ludgate Hill, and Byrom mentions some purchases made of him there in April, 1735. Young Hutton afterward began business for himself a little to the west of Temple Bar and published books for the Wesleys and Whitefield.

In March, 1736, when again in London, Byrom quotes a remark made by Mr. John White, a member of the government and also of the board for the administration of affairs in that colony, to the effect "that they would have no hierarchy in Georgia." This significant note bears witness to the feeling roused by John Wesley's high church zeal in America. On

March 31, 1737, Byrom followed Mr. Oglethorpe, who was leaving the Pennsylvania Coffee House, and asked him about Charles Wesley, "who, he said, was in the country somewhere. Mr. Rivington's son told me when I inquired there that he was gone to Tiverton," where his eldest brother was master of the grammar school. Byrom called at Rivington's on April 22, to ask after Charles Wesley, and learned that he would be in town soon. The publisher said "that the English at Savannah were a parcel of sad people. Seemed to speak of the adventure of Mr. Wesley's as a rash undertaking, but that they had been severely searched." When Charles Wesley came to town he lodged at Mr. Hutton's in Westminster. Byrom had an interesting conversation with him on June 10. He now learned that Benjamin Ingham, the friend and companion of the Wesleys in Georgia, "had applied the universal alphabet which I had given to his brother when he was at Manchester to the Indian language; it did very well for all its letters and sounds." Charles Wesley also said "that he had several books of shorthand which had been of great use to him in America." That afternoon the friends had tea together at Byrom's lodgings. Oglethorpe, Charles Wesley said, would not allow St. Paul's remarks about celibacy "to be so much as a permission, and Charles himself talked, I thought, prettily at last." Three weeks later we find Byrom waiting for Charles Wesley at Tom's Coffee House.

From that time close intercourse was kept up between the friends. On July 2, 1737, Charles Wesley called as Byrom was shaving and brought two letters about the mystics, one from his brother John in Georgia, the other an answer to it from Samuel Wesley at Tiverton. This was a dangerous subject. Byrom thought that "neither of the brothers had any apprehension of mystics, if I had myself, which query; but if I have I find it necessary to be very cautious how one talks of deep matters to everybody." He also notes that Charles Wesley criticised Law's statement that there is no command for public worship in Scripture. Byrom himself inclines to Law's side: "I believe that Mr. Law had given his brother, or him, or both, very good and strong advice, which they had strained to a meaning different to his." But if they differed as to Law and the mystics shorthand was a great bond

between them. Charles Wesley had first learned Weston's system, and was going to teach a Mr. Hooke, a clergyman in Hertfordshire. He writes to Byrom on September 25, 1737: "An uninterrupted hurry has prevented my writing sooner. I am now forced to borrow a piece of Sunday. Next week I return to Oxford." Byrom was thinking of printing a book on shorthand, and Charles Wesley was eager to help. "By your leave and written communication, I would immediately begin to take subscriptions."

Byrom writes to Charles Wesley, in March, 1738, in shorthand, a letter marked by much felicity of style and good sense:

DEAR SIR: I take the opportunity of Mr. Chaddock's going up to London from us to return you thanks for your last letter and the good wishes therein contained. I begin to think that your brother's arrival will be the occasion of your staying some time at least in England, and especially because you say that you are going to Oxford. We are in expectation of seeing your brother in these parts, from Mr. Clayton's intimation to us that he would come hither.

As your brother has brought so many hymns translated from the French, you will have a sufficient number and no occasion to increase them by the small addition of Mr. Bourignon's two little pieces, which I desire you to favor my present weakness, if I judge wrong, and not to publish them. I do not at all desire to discourage your publication; but when you tell me that you write not for the critic but for the Christian it occurs to my mind that you might as well write for both, or in such a manner that the critic may by your writing be moved to turn Christian, rather than the Christian turn critic. I should be wanting, I fear, in speaking freely and friendly upon this matter, if I did not give it as my humble opinion that before you publish you might lay before some experienced Christian critics or judges the design which you are upon. But I speak this with all submission; it is very likely that in these matters I may want a spur more than you want a bridle.

When you go to Oxford I beg my hearty respects to all our shorthand friends and others there. I have thought often of writing to Mr. Kinchin about contractions; but the tediousness of explaining that matter by writing and the ease of doing by conversation have made me defer it in hopes of meeting with some occasion of doing it in the latter way. But as I have had the pleasure of talking with you a little upon that subject you will be able to give him some satisfaction in that particular, or anything relating to the art whereof you are so complete a master that I shame at my own writing when I see the neatness of yours.

I wish you and your brother happiness and holiness. Your most obliged and humble servant I am,

J. BYROM.

This I have just writ at the library here in Mr. Thyer's room, for whom I keep it, this March 3rd, 173 $\frac{3}{4}$, [he] being gone to Bagully a-walking with Mr. Greaves.

Byrom's journal becomes of still deeper interest and value as we approach the hour when the Wesleys were led into the light. To him we owe our best portrait of Mr. Bray, whose house in Little Britain plays so memorable a part in these days of grace. Charles Wesley had greatly offended Mrs. Hutton by going to lodge with Bray, although she offered him the choice of her two best rooms. It was in Bray's house that Charles Wesley was able to rest in Christ on Whitsunday. Here the poet of Methodism composed the first hymn of the revival, which was first sung on the following Wednesday, when John Wesley was brought in triumph by a troop of friends and declared, "I believe."

On June 15, 1738, three weeks after the evangelical conversion of the brothers, Byrom writes :

I lie at the Ax, but am out all day. I have dined yesterday and to-day with Mr. Charles Wesley at a very honest man's house, a brazier, where he lodges, with whose behavior and conversation I have been very much pleased.

John Wesley had sailed two days before for Germany on his visit to the Moravian settlement. Charles had been spending some time with Mr. Piers, who had formerly been curate to the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Annesley, Rector of Winwick, but now "has some preferment about ten miles off, and he is to go to him again; he gives him a great character." This was the Rev. Henry Piers, then Vicar of Bexley, who, with his wife and manservant, found peace during one of Charles Wesley's visits. A week after this entry, Byrom says, "Mr. Charles Wesley is ill again in the country at Blenn in Kent,* his brother gone to Germany; so Mr. Clayton cannot write to him." He also chafes under the somewhat condescending treatment he had received from the Bishop of Ely, and adds :

I confess myself full as well pleased with the sentiments of the poor brazier whom I think I've mentioned, and with whom I have been to-day and had much talk with him. He talks more like a bishop, in one sense; but as yet I do not know whether I rightly apprehend what doctrine these

* The Cheetham Society editor says, "Blenn near Canterbury;" but this is Blendon, where his friends, the Delamottes, lived.

Moravians have brought amongst 'em which so highly delights some and displeases others.

On February 7, 1739, he put on his cloak after breakfast and went to see Bray, who was not in. When he called again, he says,

Mr. John Wesley came down to me, and I went, after some invitation, up stairs where they were at dinner, but I ate none. His brother Hall there, who talked of inward matters. Evans of Oxford, a tradesman, was there. I went with John Wesley to Islington to his brother at Mr. Stonehouse's (who paid five guineas to Mr. Lambert for learning my shorthand, but had made one of his own, a strange, ugly one, and could not be persuaded to learn ours). . . . Went with them to the church, where a fat woman was baptized. Thence came to his house, where they prayed, after a hymn, in their society room. Thence Mr. John Wesley went away, and we three went up stairs and drank tea and ate bread and butter and talked about faith.

Stonehouse, who had read the mystics extensively, thought that John Wesley spoke too severely of Tauler and other writers of the same school. Byrom's want of sympathy with the new movement appears from his next sentences :

Mr. Charles Wesley came for London about seven, and I with him, and Mr. Stonehouse hoped to see me again.

As the friends walked along they talked of the latest phases of the work.

Charles Wesley said Whitefield had discerned Mr. Clayton's spirit immediately. . . . [He] talked away in very strange terms about their success, and especially George Whitefield's, and I thought "Paul I know," etc. We parted at the end of Hatton Garden.

Later in the same month Byrom paid another visit to Mr. Stonehouse, who had much impressed him as a very agreeable young gentleman :

I walked this afternoon to Islington again with John Wesley to Mr. Stonehouse's, who came back with me to London to meet some of 'em. . . . I can talk with Mr. Stonehouse more freely than Mr. Wesley, with whom he differs in some points that he and I are more agreed in.

A few days afterward he went again with Wesley and attended Stonehouse's church. He had another talk with Stonehouse, in which the latter expressed his feeling that Wesley went too far against the mystics. He had promised to go to a meeting in Newgate Street. Byrom wished to dissuade him from so do-

ing, but he went. Stonehouse seemed to have vacillated a good deal over the matter, and gives one an unpleasant impression of his resolution. Charles Wesley read the service at Islington Church, "but I thought," says Byrom, "with an affected emphasis."

The same day our gossip is at Mr. Hutton's shop near Temple Bar, and says :

His sister came to me and asked me to drink tea, but her brother coming in I went with him into their little room, and the sister talked away as usual and then went to a raffle; and Mr. Hutton and I talked about Methodism, and he defended them and was eager to answer to the point, as he called it, having wrote to Mr. Durand, who yet threatened what he would do if he mentioned his name in print, which yet he said he had done. I endeavored to mollify his eagerness, but found that it would not do.

He had other talks with Hutton, whom he found enthusiastic in praise of Wesley. He often looked in for news, and calls him "my chief intelligencer." If his work on shorthand needed a bookseller, he wrote, "it must be Mr. Hutton, because he was a scholar, and that I would rather pay him something more than others if there should be occasion."

Another entry, in February, 1739, shows us how the gulf was widening between the Wesleys and their old friends. They were already becoming marked men :

I forgot that I saw Mrs. Rivington coming out of her shop, so I went in and had some talk with Mr. Rivington about the Methodists. He said they were all wrong; that they had left Mr. Law; that Mr. Wogan [an Ealing layman] was against them; that they would do a deal of mischief; that they thought they had more of the Spirit than anybody; that Mr. Clayton kept clear of such extravagancies. Now I remember how Mr. Hutton talked about him and said he was a good man; how that he had writ to John Wesley about his preaching without notes, which he thought was wrong to do.

Wesley returned to London from his first field-preaching in Bristol on June 13, 1739, because of the disturbances which had arisen in the society at Fetter Lane. Byrom writes to his wife next day :

Mr. John Wesley is come to this town from Bristol. Mr. Whitefield preaches away at Blackheath, etc.; he is the chief topic of private conversation. . . . He had lords, dukes, etc., to hear him at Blackheath, who gave guineas and half guineas for his orphan house. He does surprising things and has a great number of followers, both curious and real.

This field-preaching, they say, is got into France, as well as Germany, England, Scotland, Wales, etc. People are more and more alarmed at the wonder of it, but none offer to stop it that I hear of.

A fortnight later he has breakfast with Mr. Hutton, with whom, he says, "I have dined two or three times lately upon my own sort of fare." Of the previous night, he adds:

The so-much-talked-of Mr. Whitefield came in, and company with him. He stayed about a quarter of an hour, taking leave with his friends; and then the Cirencester coach called, and he went to Gloucestershire therein that night. He has a world of people that like him. I should have satisfied my curiosity a little if he had not been in haste. I am surprised at the progress which he had made, to which the weakness of his printing adversaries does not a little contribute.

Byrom was quite out of sympathy with the new movement. It did not commend itself to his somewhat mystical mind. He writes to his son on April 26:

Mr. Charles Wesley is in town, but I very seldom see him, not being quite agreed in all our opinions, though I have called now and then just to ask him how he does, because I wish him to do well heartily. . . . They have together printed a book of hymns, amongst which they have inserted two of Mrs. Bourignon's, one which they call a "Farewell to the World, translated from the French," and the other, "Renouncing all for Christ" (I think), "translated from the French."

The old friendship was not broken by their change of views. Somewhat later Charles Wesley's name appears in the proposals for printing Byrom's *Shorthand*, as one of those who recommend the system.

On August 4, 1739, Byrom is busy with a little domestic commission, and turns to his Moravian friend in Little Britain:

I called yesterday at Mr. Bray's, brazier, about a teakettle. He says round ones are the most commodious, not with flat tops, but raised a little; there are others like the shape of the old one. . . . I found Mr. Charles Wesley there and drank tea with him, and he asked me to come on Monday morning at eight, being to go out of town, and I should see him no more. I came out with him as far as Guildhall in his way to Kensington Common, where he was to go with Mr. Whitefield for the last time, Mr. Whitefield being to go abroad, etc. On Monday Mr. Wesley preaches at Moorfields, and Kensington on Sunday morning and night; he asked me if he should invite me to come and hear him. "Shall I invite you to stay at home?" said I. "No," said he. "Then," says I, "don't invite me to come." We do not agree, nor differ as to matters of doctrine that I can find, nor have I any occasion to condemn him.

On the following Monday he did breakfast with his friend at Mr. Bray's.

Byrom, as we have already stated, sided warmly with Law in his controversy with John Wesley. He visited Law at Putney, where he was tutor to the father of Gibbon, the historian, on August 27, 1739, and saw Wesley's letters and answers. Law quoted Hutton to the effect that three days before writing the famous letter Wesley had gone hastily from Hutton's, saying he must go and save Mr. Stonehouse from Mr. Law, who was bringing him over to faith without works :

In short, it was a very strange account that he gave, and this John Wesley, who always appeared to me in a c-n-p-r-d-ling light, appeared still worse. Pray God convert him to a true faith indeed, that may show itself more faithful with regard to his neighbor.

The extract shows that Byrom was quite unable to understand Wesley's position in this matter. Law had done much for the Oxford Methodists, but he had altogether failed to teach them the great truth of justification by faith. Hence Wesley's protest. When a critic so impartial and competent as Canon Overton does ample justice to Wesley's attitude and temper in this matter we may smile at Byrom's sally. There would have been no evangelical revival had the Wesleys not found clearer and more evangelical guides than their old master William Law.

During the next two years Byrom appears to have spent little time in London. The death of his elder and unmarried brother on May 12, 1740, had made him the owner of the family estates, so that there was no longer any need for his work as a teacher of shorthand. On July 7, 1742, however, we find him among his old friends. He goes with Mr. Jacobi to the Moravian chapel in Fetter Lane.

Mr. Delamotte read the story of the eunuch and St. Philip, and then preached. Mr. Hutton came in after us and sat down by me and squeezed me every now and then.

Still more interest attaches to a later visit. On Saturday, May 7, 1748, Byrom writes :

I dined yesterday with Colonel Gumley and Charles Wesley, and went with them to the Methodist church, English common prayers; he preached. I met my old scholar, Mr. Erskine, there, and Lord Pitsligo's son.

This nobleman came into Manchester with the Pretender in 1745. Byrom's daughter, Elizabeth, notes, in the journal which she kept of that painful incident in the history of Manchester, that she saw his troop of horse at the "Cross" on November 28. The title was forfeited the following year. The Methodist church which Byrom attended was that interesting building in West Street, Seven Dials, which is the most venerable relic of early London Methodism.

In August of the same year Byrom describes a visit to the Countess of Huntingdon's mansion at Chelsea. He and Dr. Doddridge went together by water. They found Whitefield talking with Charles Stanhope and heard him preach to the family and friends.

One Colonel Gumley, a convert to the Wesleys, was there; also Mr. Bateman, parson of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, who from a great enemy is likewise come over to them and preaches at their chapel, and they at his church. We left him there, and the colonel, Mr. Whitefield, and I came away in a coach that Lady Huntingdon had provided to London, about six o'clock.

The colonel got out at Hyde Park Corner; but as the man drove past Abington's (the coffee house where he stayed) Byrom went on to Whitefield's tabernacle and sat just behind him while he preached. The place, which held three thousand people, was crowded. Byrom afterward had supper with Whitefield in his apartments at the tabernacle. This was the temporary shed in Moorfields, which gave place to a new building in 1753. The tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road was not opened until 1756.

The later pages of Byrom's journal contain some particulars of not less interest for students of the evangelical revival than those already referred to. He says on May 27, 1749, that Mr. Innys, the publisher, had given him a copy of Law's new book on prayer, of which Lady Huntingdon had ordered one hundred copies to be sent among her acquaintances. He comments somewhat harshly, under date of October 8, 1757, on Wesley's critique of the work.

On April 2, 1761, John Wesley, accompanied by his friend Mr. Philips, called upon him at his home in Manchester. He came at ten o'clock in the morning and stayed until about twelve.

His brother, Charles Wesley, he said, was ill at Bristol or Bath, and had been confined by a disorder in his stomach which the doctors could not cure, and called it the gout; that Lady Huntingdon was ill, and a more charming woman than ever; that she is the lady to whom Mr. Law wrote the letters in his book. We had again the talk about his letter to Mr. Law, but to no other effect than two years ago. . . . I mentioned the six men who had been read out of his society for reading Jacob Behmen and Mr. Law, as one of them had told me, and had desired me to speak to him last year, but I had not then the pleasure of seeing him. He appeared to be warm on that article; said, when I mentioned their being turned out for reading, "That was because they told me lies." . . . He rejected them, not for reading the books, which was as indifferent as the color of their hair; but if they would thrust their hair into other people's eyes and trouble them with their notions, that was his reason.

Every student of Wesley's life knows that he was always faithful to this principle. He wrote to Joseph Benson as to a controversy which Benson was waging with some antagonist:

If he cites anything from me you should answer simply, "I never undertook to defend every sentiment of Mr. Wesley's. He does not expect or desire it. He wishes me and every man to think for himself."—*Works*, xii, 429.

To the Rev. James Erskine also he wrote nearly forty years earlier:

Whoever agrees with us in that account of practical religion given in "The Character of a Methodist," I regard not what his other opinions are, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother. I am more assured that love is of God than that any opinion whatsoever is."—*Works*, xiii, 162.

On July 13, 1788, he writes:

One circumstance more is quite peculiar to the people called Methodists; that is, the terms upon which any person may be admitted into their society. They do not impose, in order to their admission, any opinion whatever. Let them hold particular or general redemption, absolute or conditional decrees; let them be Churchmen or Dissenters, Presbyterians or Independents, it is no obstacle. Let them choose one mode of baptism or another, it is no bar to their admission. The Presbyterian may be a Presbyterian still; the Independent or Anabaptist use his own mode of worship; so may the Quaker, and none will contend with him about it. They think and let think. One condition and one only is required, a real desire to save their soul. Where this is, it is enough; they desire no more; they lay stress upon nothing else; they ask only, "Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? If it be, give me thine hand."—*Works*, xiii, 266.

It would be difficult to find a finer illustration of true catholicity of spirit. As to Mr. Law, Wesley said, "I do not treat him with contempt, as he does me." Byrom also asked Wesley his opinion about what was called the day of grace being over.

He said he believed it might be, but never met with any instances but one, in a man that was to be executed, whom he found to be perfectly unconcerned, though he knew he was going to be with devils, and described a strange case; but I could not allow that God's grace was then none, but not admitted by the man.

Another subject of much interest was broached.

[Wesley] said that all good authors might be inspired, but there was none but who mixed their own spirit; that Thomas à Kempis was next to the Bible, but in him there was transubstantiation and purgatory, and I could not get the smallest entire book that was quite through inspired.

Byrom mentioned Mr. Madan.

This Mr. Madan, he said, was a famous mimic, and came to hear him in order to take him off, but was himself taken off his deism; that his father, the colonel, was dead; had left him £1,800 a year; that he had a chapel of his own in some street; could not get ordained by the Bishop of London under pretense of want of a title, but was ordained by the Bishop of Winchester (Hoadly) who at ninety-three was hearty; that Madan, Romaine, etc., were half-regulars, for he divided them into regulars, half-regulars, and irregulars; that Romaine had not got a living, as I had been told.

Many other topics of conversation were discussed in this interview.

Three years before Francis Okeley, one of Wesley's traveling companions, had visited Byrom. On his return he found Mr. Wesley ready to start for Bolton. He wrote to Byrom:

I gave your love to him, as you desired, and he was glad I had been to see you; for, notwithstanding any little differences in opinion, I find he loves you sincerely, which I was glad to see.

Okeley says Byrom's warnings "not implicitly to entangle myself more than conviction of the truth will bear me out in with Mr. Wesley and his people are not lost upon me." He afterward settled in his native town of Bedford. He had caught Byrom's enthusiasm for Law and spent some days with

him at Northampton in 1760. "Dr. Byrom," said Law, "is a man after my own heart." Okeley writes:

I have heard an anecdote of [Mr. Law] that just before his translation he rose up in bed and said, "Take away these filthy garments. I feel a fire of love within, which has burned up everything contrary to itself and transformed everything to its own nature."

Such an anecdote suggests many comparisons with John Wesley's famous phrase, "Our people die well." That secret has, happily, never been confined to Methodism. The blessed end of John Wesley's noble life of self-sacrifice for the common people, with the words, "I'll praise, I'll praise," lingering on his lips almost to the last, is scarcely more beautiful than the deathbed of the great English mystic to whom Wesley owed so much in earlier years and with whom he afterward felt that truth compelled him to cross swords.

Byrom died on September 28, 1763, at the age of seventy-two. He bore his lingering illness with exemplary patience. It is a quaint comment on last century customs to find that his family were fined five pounds because he was not buried in woollen. Ten years later John Wesley read his friend's poems as he traveled from Liverpool to Birmingham. He pays a high tribute to the man whom he had known and loved so well:

He has all the wit and humor of Dean Swift, together with much more learning, a deep and strong understanding, and, above all, a serious vein of poetry.

He comments adversely on some things inspired by Jacob Behmen. Then he adds:

But, setting these things aside, we have some of the finest sentiments that ever appeared in the English tongue; some of the noblest truths, expressed with the utmost energy of language and the strongest colors of poetry, so that, upon the whole, I trust this publication will much advance the cause of God and of true religion.

With that tribute lingering in our ears we may close our study.

John Jefferson

ART. II.—THE LOSS OF AN OLD FRIEND—PROTOPLASM.

THE discoveries of science are often made in anticipation; for one of the chief guides in research is the seeming trend of scientific advance. As the scientist looks over the history of past discovery he perceives a general movement in certain directions, and then is led to expect and to plan for further advances along the same general lines. To him the trend of science is very real. In a former article in this *Review* the author pointed out that for a scientist to hold any position among his fellows it is necessary for him to accept not only all scientific facts, but to anticipate discovery by being in sympathy with the future and be able thus to plan experiments, guided by what he feels to be the trend of scientific advance. Only thus can he keep abreast of our rapidly advancing knowledge, and only thus can he plan intelligent experiments and aid science toward its final aim. It frequently happens, for this reason, that discoveries are made in theory before they are made in fact. But while this thought must be ever present in the mind of a true scientist he must also remember that in thus anticipating the future he is running the risk of making mistakes by falsely interpreting this general drift. Sometimes advance is diverted from its seemingly plain course by unforeseen discoveries; sometimes the path comes to an end before the ultimate theoretical goal is reached, and thus anticipation and prediction prove to have passed beyond the limits set by nature. It is the object of the present paper to show how this is true by pointing out how, in one of the most significant realms of scientific discovery, this tendency has seemingly been leading us adrift. Recent discoveries have demonstrated that in regard to the theories of the origin of life the conclusions derived from the trend of discovery have led us too far and must be very materially modified; and the facts given below illustrate the danger of speculating too far ahead of demonstrated fact.

Hardly a problem in science has given rise to more interest than that of the nature and origin of what we call life. Is life a special force independent of other natural forces, or is

it correlated with chemical and physical force? Can life arise spontaneously? Has it had a natural or a supernatural origin? Can we ever hope to manufacture a living thing? These are ever-present questions. Until the last half century there had been no attempt to ally vital with chemical and physical forces; but the rise of biology as a dynamical science has given us new conceptions and has led to somewhat revolutionary views. Out of the vague notions of earlier centuries there has in the last fifty years slowly crystallized what has been called the mechanical theory of life. This theory was primarily based upon the discovery of protoplasm. Some forty years ago the microscope disclosed to us the fact that the living part of all animals and plants was one and the same compound. This body, which was named protoplasm, is really the only living substance in nature, and was said to be the "potter's clay" out of which all animals and plants were molded. Chemically it gave the tests for albumen, and it was for a long time, therefore, regarded simply as a special form of albumen with peculiar properties. Hence there arose the notion that what we call life is simply a name for the properties of this substance, just as aquosity might be coined as a name for the properties of the substance of water. According to this view life is nothing supernatural, nor has it had any special supernatural origin. Just as aquosity appeared in earlier times, when conditions were such as to produce the union of hydrogen and oxygen in the right proportions to form water, so life appeared in the same natural way when the conditions were such as to produce the union of the elements carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen in the right proportions to form protoplasm. Life was thus no real thing, no distinct force, but simply a name given to the properties of the substance protoplasm. These properties protoplasm possessed simply by virtue of its chemical composition, and not by having any special force implanted in it. Every chemical compound has its own characters, and protoplasm differs from other compounds simply in having more complex properties. But it has also a more complex composition. If we do not regard water as ruled over by a special force, aquosity, it is illogical to regard protoplasm as ruled over by a special force, vitality.

This mechanical theory of life has certainly never been dem-

onstrated any more than its opposite has been demonstrated. The question of the existence of a guiding power in living nature, unique in itself, still remains an open one. The facts of nature have thus far proved too illusive to admit of the settlement of the question. Still, the mechanical theory has been strenuously held by scientists, and has certainly enjoyed in the last two decades a growing popularity. The foundation of the theory rests upon no demonstration, but rather upon a general inference from several series of facts. The discovery of the correlation between bodily heat and motion with the physical forces of nature has had great influence. The demonstration that vital motions are as truly due to transformed sunlight as those of any machine has contributed much toward uniting life with physical force. The explanation of the mechanics of the circulation and of the chemistry of digestion and respiration has contributed to the result. Above all, the advances in organic chemistry have led naturalists rapidly toward the mechanical theory of life. As the last half century has passed we have seen how advances in chemistry have been showing the possibility of making in the chemist's laboratory many compounds formerly supposed to be possible only through the agency of life. We have seen that the chemist can begin with simple substances like CO_2 (carbonic anhydride or carbonic acid) and H_2O (water) and by a series of combinations and reactions, making use of known laws of chemical affinity, can manufacture many of the bodies formerly classed as strictly organic. We have learned that an increasing complexity of properties of chemical compounds accompanies the increasing complexity of composition. CO_2 is a simple substance and its properties are very simple; but proteids, with their much more complex molecule, show widely varied powers of modification and combination. It has, from such facts, been an easy assumption that when chemists do make a substance as complex as protoplasm, whose molecule must be considered the most complex one on earth, it will have properties as marvelous as those of living things, and will, in short, be alive. Now, if protoplasm is only an albumen, its artificial manufacture does not seem to be very improbable. In other words, chemists have been telling us of the probability that they would some day succeed in making a living substance by the application of sim-

ple chemical forces to matter. Acting in accordance with this prediction, many experiments have been planned looking toward the manufacture of protoplasm, and eagerly have chemists been trying to build up the higher organic compounds. Spontaneous generation, too, has been studied anew with confident expectation of reaching, if not a positive conclusion, still some result which might give an indication of the possibility of a natural origin of life. We have been told that, in spite of the fact that thus far experiments have rather opposed any belief in the possibility of the origin of life from any source except other living beings, nevertheless the next great discovery will be the spontaneous generation or the artificial manufacture of life. This has been confidently believed, and is plainly in the line of scientific advance which is everywhere learning of the efficiency of natural laws to explain natural phenomena.

Such general facts as those above outlined have gradually given us the mechanical theory of life. There can be no question that some such theory as this lies at the end of the road which we have been traveling, provided the road continues to advance in the same direction. Chemists certainly can make organic compounds, and are making those of higher and higher grades every year. Certain it is, too, that an increasing complexity of properties accompanies the increasing complexity of molecular structure of these bodies. Now, if we only admit that protoplasm stands at the top of this ladder which chemists are rapidly climbing—and this seems to be the natural conclusion from its characters—it is certainly a natural inference that some day chemists will be able to make protoplasm itself. Carry this conclusion to its legitimate end and we shall find this protoplasm to be alive.

The mechanical theory of life has been thus inferred from various lines of research. We must notice now that this theory consists of two parts. It comprises a theory of the *nature* and a theory of the *origin* of life. These two parts rest upon different foundations. The first is dependent upon the assumption of the practical uniformity of protoplasm. Living nature everywhere shows certain general attributes; and if life is simply a name for these attributes we must expect that the protoplasm must show the same composition everywhere. If protoplasm

is the physical basis of life it must be practically uniform, since life is itself everywhere uniform in its general characters.

The second part of the mechanical view—that is, the natural *origin* of life and the prediction of its artificial manufacture—rests, however, upon a different basis. The theory that at some earlier period the elements carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen came together in such proportions as to form protoplasm, rests upon the supposition that protoplasm is a single and a definite though perhaps variable compound. The expectation which chemists formerly had of manufacturing it rested also upon the belief that it was a single chemical compound related to albumen, or at least a simple mixture of allied compounds. Formic acid, indigo, urea, and even a proteid have been made, and why not protoplasm? This would indeed seem to follow naturally, provided protoplasm were, like formic acid, indigo, urea, and proteid, a definite chemical compound with a constant molecular composition. No amount of complexity in its molecule would stand in the way of this logical position so long as its composition could be regarded as dependent upon chemical forces. If, however, it should prove that protoplasm was something more than a chemical compound, then chemical forces could not be regarded as sufficient for its synthesis. The second part of the mechanical view, therefore, rests upon the supposed definite composition of protoplasm.

Consciously or unconsciously, then, speculators have been assuming the uniformity of protoplasm, as well as its nature as a single chemical compound. But, unfortunately, such a view is no longer possible. It was the microscope which started us along this road of travel some fifty years ago by furnishing us with protoplasm to conjure with for a few years; but now the microscope is turning again and robbing us of the treasure which it allowed us to use for thirty years or more. It is the microscope, and not chemistry, which seems to bid fair to settle this question of the natural origin of life and to compel us very materially to modify the views which resulted from chemical speculation. Protoplasm is not homogeneous. The great improvements in the microscope and in microscopic methods of the last fifteen years have been disclosing within this seeming homogeneous jelly a structure which, being unexpected, is startling and even revolutionary in its significance. Biologists

have hardly realized the meaning of this change or even its extent. When, some fifteen years ago, the announcement was made that protoplasm showed a structure to the microscope it was hardly thought of as specially important. But fifteen years' accumulated discovery has made such a change that we are now just beginning to realize that our old friend protoplasm has disappeared from science never to return; or if not absolutely gone it has so changed its aspect as to be no longer recognizable. While, of course, it would be out of place to give here a detailed account of these researches in living matter, the essential facts are so intimately related to our philosophical conception of the nature of life as to be of interest to all who ever think upon these questions.

In the first place, it has appeared that there is no such thing as protoplasm in general, but only particular forms of protoplasm. There is no general protoplasm out of which different animals and plants are made, but each organism has its own peculiar kind. Protoplasm is not an undifferentiated "potter's clay" or raw material out of which to make animals and plants. This has, of course, always been known, but with a general belief that there was a great uniformity in the compound wherever it was found. But so far from being alike everywhere protoplasm in different animals is perhaps as varied as are the animals themselves. As Huxley first knew it protoplasm was a homogeneous jelly, transparent to view and with no discernible structure. As we know it to-day it is one of the most complicated bodies of which we have any knowledge; complicated not only in its chemical composition, but also in its physical structure. The microscope to-day tells us that it is made of several distinct parts. The basis of the mass, and that which gives it consistency, is a complicated network of delicate fibers, sometimes extremely minute and sometimes comparatively coarse, interwoven with each other in great confusion. The more intimate structure of the fibers, or even their chemical composition, is unknown. Giving fluidity to the mass, there is suspended among the meshes of the network a clear watery liquid of varying consistency. It is largely water, but not wholly so, and of its further composition we have little knowledge. On and among the fibers are infinite numbers of extremely minute dots or granules barely visible to the highest powers

of the microscope; and these may be seen to move to and fro, frequently traveling along the fibers almost like beads on a string, now grouping themselves in one way and now in another, and exhibiting an appearance of ceaseless activity. These bodies are so minute as to show no structure with any microscopical appliances; and yet there are strong reasons for believing that there are great differences between them, and that they are themselves made up of still more minute parts which must ever baffle the powers of optics to discern.

Nor does the matter end here. Protoplasm never exists free as undifferentiated protoplasm, but is always associated in little independent bits called cells. In such cells the structure is more complicated than above indicated, for each cell contains, besides the clear protoplasm, a specially differentiated part called the nucleus. This nucleus is in itself simply a part of the protoplasm and, indeed, as most microscopists are inclined to believe, the most essential part. In the nucleus we find a repetition of the fibers, liquids, and granules in a fashion even more complicated than in the body of the cell. In addition to these there is a new structure in the form of a compound called nuclein. This latter appears sometimes in the form of dots or rods or granules grouped in various fantastic ways. Frequently it is itself inclosed in a most wonderful body known as the nuclein tubule. Imagine a cell not more than a two hundredth of an inch in diameter, with a nucleus inclosed within it not a tenth of its size, and then conceive a long hollow endless tube snugly coiled within the nucleus, and we have an idea of a nuclein tubule. This tube, wherever present, contains the nuclein in its cavity. Now, this same nuclein, whether in the form of rods or dots, or whether inclosed within the tubule, is the most incomprehensible part of the whole protoplasm. Minute as it is in amount, the microscopist has learned that it must contain the properties of the whole protoplasm and, in many cases at least, all of the essential characters of the adult animal or plant to which the particular cell belongs. For instance, in the nuclein of the reproductive body, we have learned, are probably seated all of the hereditary characters which the parent may transmit to its offspring, as well as an unknown quantity of other characteristics which we know may be transmitted from generation to generation, remaining dormant in one to

reappear later. When in an individual there appears a trait inherited from a great-grandfather we know that this must have been handed down through grandfather and father in the reproductive bodies, and probably in the minute quantity of nuclein within the nucleus of those bodies. When we think of the complexity of the adult animal like man, and of the extremely minute size of the reproductive cells, with the still smaller proportion of the nuclein inclosed, and when we remember that this body contains potentially all of the characters of the adult man, the marvelous character which this nuclein may assume becomes inconceivable. Wonderful as it is, we must at the same time remember that it is only a part of the so-called protoplasm.

During this last fifteen years chemistry and microscopy have been combined to form what is known as microchemistry. At first chemists tried to get protoplasm in quantity for study; but now they are trying to study it in microscopic bits by microchemical tests. This new method has disclosed wonders from the chemical side. We can no longer regard protoplasm as a chemical compound related to albumen. Instead of this we have learned that there are many different compounds existing side by side to make up what we formerly supposed to be one distinct substance. It is impossible, as yet, to form any idea of the number of these compounds. Certainly the fibers, liquids, granules, and nuclein are chemically, as well as physically, distinct. Nor does the matter end here. A dozen or more compounds have already been discerned in the mixture, and no one would pretend that we have reached the limit. Our methods of separating them are as yet only the crudest. To-day we call nuclein a single compound; but no one knows what it is, nor can we doubt that this, too, will sometime be analyzed into others if we ever succeed in refining our methods sufficiently. Chemical study of the different parts of protoplasm has only just begun, and new compounds are constantly appearing. Protoplasm is thus becoming, in our minds, a more and more complex mixture of chemical compounds as we learn more of its nature. The old conception that it was an albumen has quietly dropped out of existence, so quietly, indeed, that many chemists hardly realize that it has so completely vanished. Having lost our idea of protoplasm as an albumen, we are

now slowly learning new facts of its chemical nature. Protoplasm alive and protoplasm dead have always been regarded as different; but now some of the chemical differences are becoming visible. Hardly a week passes that something new is not learned, and more wonderful does this body become as it is studied. Bold, indeed, would be the microscopist who would claim that we have yet reached the end of the analysis of a single factor.

Still further ideas of complexity arise when we try to study the activity of this protoplasm. We find that the fibers are themselves wonderfully fashioned structures with special powers; that the granules show marvelous properties. The nuclein, whether in the tubule or free in the nucleus, undergoes curious changes in the life of the cell. The tubule breaks into fragments, it splits longitudinally, the fragments separate into groups and unite together again. Sometimes they break off pieces of themselves, which are then thrown away and thrust out of the cell entirely; and sometimes the fragments receive pieces of the nuclein tubule from another cell, fusing with them to form a new nuclein mass. A ceaseless activity is going on, and the nuclein seems to preside over it all. In short, the nature of this substance, formerly regarded as a single definite compound, has been in the last ten years becoming a study of wider and wider import, till a new branch of science has arisen, called cytology, a science whose field is simply to study cells and protoplasm.

We say the study of protoplasm. But in the light of the facts mentioned what is protoplasm? What part of this wonderful complex should now be regarded as the physical basis of life? Is it the liquid? or the fibers? or the granules? or the tubule? or the nuclein? None of these plainly can deserve the name protoplasm. The word originally applied to all the parts together, and if it is to be retained at all it should plainly apply to the whole compound. But if so it is still more plain that protoplasm has ceased to hold its former position as a factor in the life problem. We can no longer regard it as the simple potter's clay out of which different forms of life can be molded. In itself, in its simplest form, it already shows the work of the artisan's hand. In this new science of cytology we scarcely ever hear of protoplasm. Its meaning is too vague and it in-

cludes too much. The word has almost disappeared from the cytologist's nomenclature, and its place is being taken by a host of new words given to the various parts of which the former substance, protoplasm, is composed. We hear of nuclein and paranuclein, of pyrenin and amphipyrenin, of karyoplasm and nueleoplasm, but seldom of protoplasm. This word promises soon to remain only as a matter of historic interest and as marking a prominent step in the analysis of life; a step, indeed, of special significance, since it stimulated thought in the new direction of studying the mechanics of the life process.

Protoplasm is thus not a simple substance, and, indeed, is not a substance at all, but rather an abstraction from a series of structures each built of many different parts. It exists as a distinct substance no more than mankind exists as a distinct entity. *Men* exist, *mankind* is purely a thought. In the same way granules, nuclein, etc., exist, while protoplasm is a thought only. And thus it follows that the famous title, protoplasm, the physical basis of life, has lost all of its former significance.

But we may now ask whether in this analysis, which must have brought us nearer to the basis of life, there has not been found something which can take the place formerly held by protoplasm in the minds of biologists. Such a result has certainly up to the present time not been reached. The significance of the discovery of protoplasm lay in the fact that all parts of all living things, however unlike they seemed, were found to be made of one and the same compound, with supposed definite character and definite chemical composition. This body, everywhere found and everywhere alike, showed in itself the essential characters of living things. It at once united plants and animals on one common foundation, and for the first time made possible a science of biology in distinction from botany and zoology. It was, indeed, the one living thing in nature, and animals and plants were only products of its activities. But its significance in the life problem lay in its being regarded as a single definite compound, and now that it appears a complex in itself we must look deeper for the ultimate life substance. But such a body does not appear. Nothing has been found within protoplasm that bears the same relations to this body that it was supposed to bear to animals and plants. We find nothing more simple which exhibits the essential

characters of life. To fill the place formerly occupied in our thoughts by protoplasm some body should be found within it, present in all forms and all parts of protoplasm and having all of the essential characters of this body, and thus forming its physical basis. But we know of none. There is no uniting bond for the different parts of protoplasm except that they are probably all composed of the same chemical elements. Whether the granules, the liquids, the nuclein, or some other part should be regarded as the most fundamental is not decided, nor is there any consensus of opinion that there is any one part really more fundamental than another. The chemical elements alone appear fundamental, and our search for the primitive life substance to-day appears to take us down to the very chemical elements themselves; and thus all significance in a physical basis of life is lost. Cytology, having robbed us of protoplasm, offers nothing in its place.

The significance of all this in regard to the mechanical theory of life must be clear to every one. Cytologists and chemists have hoped to be able to make protoplasm. The chemist has learned that he could make synthetically compounds formerly supposed to be possible only through the direct agency of the life essence, and he has found more and more complicated bodies appearing in his retorts every year. Hence he supposed he was getting nearer to protoplasm. This body he regarded simply as the final round in the ladder of which the lower rounds were being rapidly surmounted. It was a simple and logical conclusion that some day the whole ladder would be climbed, and if protoplasm were at its summit that, too, would be seized as a final glorious prize. The logic of the position cannot be gainsaid. But while the chemist has been climbing this ladder the microscopist, quietly and unperceived, has shown that protoplasm does not rest at the top of the ladder, and does not, indeed, belong to the series of chemical compounds at all. Chemical compounds, of howsoever great complexity, chemists can hope to make at some time; but even the most sanguine chemist, the most extreme adherent to the mechanical theory of life, must be appalled at the task of manufacturing a bit of the simplest protoplasm, with its fibers, liquids, granules, and nuclein inclosed within a special nucleus. So far as our knowledge goes all of these structures are necessary that there

be even the simplest form of life. We know of no living matter simpler than protoplasm, and no protoplasm simpler than the above-described structure. Plainly, then, we must abandon the hope of making life. It is as hopeless to try to crystallize a man out of an organic solution. Seemingly, too, we must give up the expectation of discovering any evidence for spontaneous generation. As easy to imagine a steam engine to develop spontaneously from an iron mine. We know of forces which can produce chemical compounds; and so long as the life substance was supposed to be a definite chemical compound we might hope for its manufacture. But we know of no natural forces which can produce physical structures with complex internal relations. Chemical forces may produce chemical compounds, but never machines. The microscope thus seems to have set a limit to the tendency of scientific advance in this direction. Having given us protoplasm to think over for fifty years, it has now taken it away from us and offered nothing in its place. Our experiments and speculations must now be turned in a different direction.

It cannot be questioned that the study of cytology has given a serious blow to the mechanical theory of life. But we must not imagine too quickly that these discoveries prove fatal to that theory. It is still possible to hold the mechanical theory with certain modifications. Our biologist, in spite of the facts outlined, will still believe in the natural origin of life, though he may acknowledge the impossibility of his ever obtaining an explanation of such an origin. The mechanical theory of life, it will be remembered, involves two questions. So far as the view that life is simply a name for the properties of the substance protoplasm is concerned, it is left unaffected by these new facts. Or rather it is perhaps somewhat strengthened. A complicated machine is capable of exhibiting varied powers, and the greater the complexity the greater the diversity of powers. It takes a complex machine to perform complex actions. The water wheel is a simple machine and has very limited powers; but a modern printing press, which regulates its own motions, performs many simultaneous duties, corrects its own errors, and stops voluntarily when out of adjustment to its conditions, is a marvel both of function and complication of parts. It is the marvelous variety of the properties of living nature which

has separated it in our minds from inanimate nature and has led us to believe that some special force is needed in explanation. But, having now proved protoplasm to be such a complex machine, it is easier for us to suppose that its properties are the result of its structure than it was when we looked upon it as a simple, definite, homogeneous compound. It is easier to believe that motion might result from the activities of the *machine* protoplasm than from a homogeneous jelly.

But while this may simplify one side of the problem it only renders the other more difficult of solution. The greater the complexity of protoplasm the greater the difficulty of imagining its production by natural means. How came this marvelous machine to be first built? When we thought of it as a single compound we could suppose that at one time in the earth's history conditions were such as to produce the union of the elements carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen in such a way as to form it; for chemical forces are sufficient for the manufacture of chemical compounds. We can no longer make such a supposition, for we are dealing, not with a chemical compound, but an intricate machine.

But even with this view there is still a solution of the problem for those who look for it. A few years ago the structure of the animals and plants offered the same problem, and no one could comprehend how natural forces could have produced such complicated organisms as our higher animals and plants from the simplest forms of living matter. But our evolutionists have studied this problem until they have shown how this result was accomplished. They have shown, at least, some natural forces which go toward the building of *structure* by development. This same general view they can now apply to protoplasm by assuming that it is not the simplest form of living matter, but has itself been produced by the processes of evolution from simpler compounds. They may tell us that the first step in the life process was not the production of anything even approaching protoplasm, but of some simple chemical compound, which by the long, slow processes of natural selection or other natural laws was gradually evolved into a living mass of what we now call protoplasm. The passage from the elements to the simplest form of protoplasm was perhaps as long and complicated as the passage from the simplest form of unicellular animals of early

ages to the higher orders of animals and plants. But if natural forces could produce the evolution of the higher orders of animals from the lower it may logically be imagined that they would also be sufficient for the evolution of protoplasm from simpler forms of carbon compounds and their accidental mixtures.

Such a view as this is certainly a logical one, and will doubtless be held by biologists. But it must be admitted that the whole history thus imagined has left absolutely no trace. The process of evolution of animals has left its record in the rocks; but the passage from the elements to protoplasm is a complete blank. It must, therefore, be a matter of mere speculation, and one which takes us further into the regions of the unknown than any earlier view held concerning the origin of life. We cannot as yet even make a guess as to the nature of these steps. They could not have been chemical changes, and we cannot conceive what physical forces could have produced such organization as is shown by protoplasm. But we must, at least, admit that the view is a logical possibility, and thus recognize that the mechanical theory of life, while necessarily much modified by our new knowledge, is not disproved. But the manufacture of a bit of living protoplasm, it will be admitted by all, is as hopeless as the artificial manufacture of a fully developed man. The forces which produced it are not within our control.

In conclusion, then, we see that here, as elsewhere, the nearer we get to what seems to be the solution of nature the further that solution is removed from our grasp. The physicist explains optics only to find that his explanation has involved him in inextricable difficulties. The chemist solves many of nature's problems only to find his chemical forces and atoms utterly incomprehensible to him. The astronomer explains the origin of a solar system only to find that the matter and forces out of which he formed it are as unfathomable as ever. And so the biologist, while bringing more and more of living nature into the realm of chemistry and physics, only finds his solution of the life problem retreating further and further into the shadows of speculation.



ART. III.—PHILLIPS BROOKS.*

"EVERY man's power is his idea multiplied by and projected through his personality." This is Phillips Brooks's statement of the law of influence. A still better statement of a preacher's power is found in the three divisions which Dr. Brooks makes in his *Lectures upon Preaching*. In that volume he advances the idea that a preacher's power consists in the truth which he gives to the world, in the art with which he adapts the truth to the audience and to the age in which he lives, and in the personality which lies back of his truth and wings it with the power of conviction. Let us see how these three principles are illustrated in this prince of modern preachers.

1. Let us learn, if possible, what was the fundamental idea which molded his character and projected itself through his personality. The inspiring thought of his life was, in his own words, "the fatherhood of God and the childhood of every man to him." Dr. Brooks gladly acknowledged his indebtedness for this idea to Frederick William Robertson, who presented it with perhaps even greater distinctness than did his American brother. But plainly both Brooks and Robertson owed their inspiration upon this theme to St. John, and through St. John to Christ.

Although not a theologian in the ordinary sense of that word, Dr. Brooks might be said to be in hearty sympathy with evangelical theology, especially of the broad Arminian type. While a hundred preachers worked in conjunction with Mr. Moody in Boston, in 1877, Dr. Brooks was the only one who could hold the immense audiences and continue the work on Monday evenings, while Mr. Moody was resting. But even on such occasions his conception of man differed slightly from Mr. Moody's. We well remember his marvelous sermon on one such Monday evening from the text, "I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision." Mr. Moody had presented man as the prodigal and Christ as the Saviour. Dr. Brooks presented man as primarily, or by creation, a child of God, and Christ as the "firstborn among many brethren," whom he must bring to perfection. The preacher produced all the more

* The substance of this article was delivered as an address at Chautauqua, N. Y., July, 1893.

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pungent conviction in sinners through his conception that originally they were not sinners, but children of God. The substance of his reasoning was :

If God had made you to be a sinner, if by some shameful decree he had made you for punishment or had left you helpless, there would be some apology for evil; and the responsibility might at least be divided with your Creator. But God made you to be his child; he constituted you a member of the divine family. God so loved you that he sent his only begotten Son into the world to save you after you had fallen into sin. Hence your sin is without excuse, and becomes a thousandfold worse because it brings disgrace to the heavenly family and is a stab at the very heart of God. The very height for which God destined you only emphasizes the distance of the fall.

Dr. Brooks knew how to appeal to sinners, but the appeal was based upon the essential nobility of man. Man's original sensibility to God and the necessity for his return to the Father in order to realize the highest possibilities of manhood were the ideas which inspired Phillips Brooks's utterances and made him the prophet of a new humanity.

It must be admitted that Dr. Brooks did not carefully elaborate and present in a systematic form the truths which seemed to him vital. He was preeminently a discoverer rather than a scientist, a voyager upon the ocean of life rather than a maker of charts or a classifier of specimens. He was to the end of his life a great reader of good books. At college, notwithstanding his magnificent physical proportions, he was not fond of athletic sports, but was called an omnivorous reader. His library, as we recall it between 1880-84, impressed us as the largest pastor's library we had ever seen. But he was never content to read and to elaborate truth at second hand. Most persons will remember that he was a great traveler. For the last thirty years of his life he was accustomed to spend a summer vacation every other year in Europe. This love of travel grew upon him, and he spent an entire year in the Old World, chiefly in Asia, not long ago. The trip was significant for two reasons: (1) it enabled him to reaffirm from observation his lifelong conviction that, while God has not left himself without witness among the nations, yet that Christianity is the absolute religion; (2) it illustrated the growing habit of his mind to gather materials for his thinking from life at first hand rather than from

books. In this regard he resembled Darwin. In fact, he seems to the writer to have been gathering materials for a great spiritual science, but never to have elaborated them. So his sermons impressed hearers with their originality rather than with their scholarship or art. Those who stood close to him felt, not simply that there was more in his character, but that there was more in his mind, than his sermons revealed. Professor A. V. G. Allen says that Brooks has contributed more material than any other man of his age to what, for lack of a better name, we may call the new field of spiritual psychology. Had Darwin died when he had amassed all of his materials, but before he had fully elaborated the doctrine of evolution, Brooks might be compared with the great scientist and called the spiritual Darwin.

2. Let us learn, if possible, the art with which Dr. Brooks adapted his truth to his audiences and presented it to the age in which he lived. In one sense Phillips Brooks was entirely devoid of art. Certainly he never cultivated art for its own sake. He had none of the studied graces of his noble kinsman, Wendell Phillips, the prince of the American platform. Born and bred in New England, a child of Harvard University, he was apparently uninfluenced by the studied eloquence of Sumner or the polished periods of Harvard's most cultivated president, Edward Everett. He did not live in the senses or in practical affairs. This was a partial advantage and a partial defect. It was one source of the rare strength of his sermons; yet it gave rise to limitations in his church activity. He believed so strongly in character and so little in environment that he thought the former would always shape the latter. In this regard he followed Christ's example, but followed it perhaps too literally. Dr. Brooks thus describes the Master's method:

The Master never cared to reshape circumstances until he had regenerated men. He let the shell stand as he found it until the new life within could burst it for itself. Almost instantly, as soon as the disciples began their work, they seemed to have been filled with a true conception of the divine message—that, not from outside, but from inside, not by the remodeling of institutions, but by the change of character, not by the suppression of vices, but by the destruction of sin, the world was to be saved.

So Dr. Brooks chose the spiritual, to the neglect of the materialistic, view of man. Modern science lays stress upon envi-

ronment. M. Taine attempts to rewrite the history of literature by making environment explain Milton and Shakespeare and account for the writings of Pascal and Corneille. Upon the other hand, Brooks's life, hid with Christ in God, led him to pay too little attention to surroundings and institutions. He had not the constructive ability of Spurgeon, who established a newspaper, an orphanage, and a college. He had not Chalmers's talent for organization, or Beecher's talent for agitation, or the intuitive power of reading human nature and of adapting means to ends which made Bishop Simpson the greatest administrator, as well as the greatest preacher, of his Church for the generation in which he lived. Nor did he feel that interest in public problems which made Wendell Phillips a reformer and swayed Whittier and Beecher and Lowell from their chosen fields in order that they might mold public opinion upon the slavery question. The period in which his activity fell was slightly unfavorable to the development of a talent for public affairs, provided it existed in him. He was not quite old enough to take part in the antislavery contest, and he died too early to become a leader in the coming battle of the home against the saloon. But his instinct and his philosophy alike made him a preacher to individuals, and not a reformer of society.

In a word, Dr. Brooks was by nature a preacher rather than a teacher. There is a subtle difference between the two professions. The teacher imparts information characteristically, although the great teacher gives inspiration to the life as well as truth to the intellect. The preacher, upon the other hand, imparts truth incidentally, but must bring life and inspiration to dead souls. It is possible to enlighten the mind so that it shall see more clearly all its daily duties without imparting specific information. Dr. Brooks's abandonment of teaching as a profession shows that he wisely recognized his limitations as an instructor. Even his sermons seem to us to be wheels with lines of thought running out like spokes from his central truth rather than pyramids built up layer by layer upon an established foundation. In hearing him preach and in reading his sermons the writer has often thought of Ezekiel's vision of the wheel with the spirit of the living creature in it and the glory of God above it. Perhaps a better illustration of his sermons is the sun, pouring out light and warmth, but

never showing its foundations or revealing the method by which it is built up. We incline to think there was a limitation to his nature on the practical side. Protestantism in its revolt from an external spiritual authority lost the vision of a kingdom of heaven upon earth. It is just regaining this truth in its crude attempts at applied Christianity. Brooks was the spiritual product of Protestantism. He furnished the inspiration and the ideals for individuals, rather than methods for reform or laws for the kingdom of heaven upon earth.

Again, it must be confessed that Dr. Brooks not only lacked somewhat in knowledge of practical affairs, but that he was an optimist by temperament, that he was spared by circumstances close contact with the most sinful and degraded classes, and that he saw the glory of manhood rather than its shame, and dwelt upon the privileges of sonship more than upon its duties. Some of us recall, in one of his sermons, the reference to the coarse caricature of Christ as a winebibber and a glutton. He said that there was just enough truth at the bottom of this caricature to give us an insight into the healthy, bodily life of Jesus. "That physical pleasure should be the accompaniment of spiritual joy, Jesus accepted as a part of the harmony of the universe." So Brooks's optimistic philosophy, his lack of any large knowledge of the deceitfulness of sin, and his belief in the appropriateness of the physical appetites led him to indulge in two habits which are common to our age, but which a more scientific study of dietetics will condemn. In the use of wine he did not feel that he was going a hair's-breadth beyond the example of his Master. In this view and practice he was in the company of such men as Godet and Spurgeon in our generation and a host of saints in all ages. But Brooks was remarkable for his common sense so far as he was brought in contact with practical problems; and the fashionable society with which he was surrounded thrust upon his notice the fearful problem of intemperance. He seemed puzzled at first; for the example of his Master, as he understood it, seemed to him safe. But he later reached a conclusion on the subject alike creditable to his head and heart and abandoned the use of wine entirely, not because he felt that there was a precept in the New Testament against it, but because the spirit of his Master forbade the use of that which was harming his fellow-

men. So for the last few years of his life this great, good man threw the influence of his powerful example upon the side of total abstinence.

For ourselves, we wish he had given the tobacco problem equal consideration. There is universal agreement among scientists to-day that nicotine is a poison. Law is no respecter of persons, and tobacco in some measure injured Brooks as it certainly injured Grant. Sincerely do we wish that he had not impaired his strength and set a dangerous example to the young by the introduction of that poison into his system; but no one who knew him or listened to his preaching ever dreamed that he violated his own conscience upon this question any more than Stonewall Jackson violated his conscience by fighting for his native State. But while we insist that Brooks was not consciously doing wrong, yet his lack of insight on these points shows that his knowledge of men and of practical affairs was defective. He was, therefore, lacking in one element of a great teacher.

But before deciding hastily that Phillips Brooks was destitute of art one other important fact must be considered. The basis of all real and genuine art is love of the truth one preaches and of the people to whom he preaches. If a preacher loves truth for its own sake he will constantly cultivate the best form of presenting it, and so grow in art as the ideal form of truth. If he loves the people he will surely find access to their hearts. So a preacher or reformer who seldom thinks of the graces of rhetoric or the arts of oratory will, through his love for others, cause his truth to have all the weight, and perhaps even more weight, than it inherently deserves. In this respect Dr. Brooks displayed the highest art. His life was remarkable for its unselfishness and its love for others. When he was preaching at Trinity Church, Boston, on a salary of ten thousand dollars, he was offered twenty thousand dollars to serve another church. He declined the call because he could not seem to preach for money, and because he felt that his labor in Boston was not done. Later Trinity Church raised his salary to fifteen thousand dollars a year. We may know that he was a generous helper of all good causes because, despite his large income as a preacher, at his death he was found to be worth little aside from his house and his library. But one may be unselfish and still

lack influence, because his unselfishness springs out of his indifference to life, his lack of interest in himself or in others. But Brooks's unselfishness sprang from no such weak and unworthy motive. Surely he never could have developed so Christlike a character had he not recognized himself as a child of God, a prince in the King's household. His appreciation of his own spiritual worth was swallowed up in his love for others. His secretary says that he never talked about himself, and apparently never thought of himself. Dr. Brooks speaks in one of his sermons of Jesus's "discovering an interest in people whom the world would have found dull. And this same habit, passing over to his disciples, made the wide and democratic character of the new faith."

Phillips Brooks's freedom from fastidiousness, his breadth and sympathy and hope, gave a largeness to the life of the great preacher which everyone who knew him recognized. He showed all the warmth and directness of personal affection without its distortions and partialities. The wideness of his friendships redeemed his mind from narrowness, while they kept it eager and intense. Who will forget the picture of this giant, weighing nearly three hundred pounds, bounding up four flights of stairs and slipping a twenty-dollar bill into the hands of the foreman of a printing office as his contribution toward sending a consumptive printer to a health resort? Who will forget this popular idol walking with two fashionable young ladies of his congregation across the Boston Public Garden until he meets two servant girls who also belong to his church, and then excusing himself from his delightful companions and turning back to speak a few words of encouragement to those faithful toilers? Who will forget the picture of the poor woman grasping the hand of her boy, pressing in with the great crowd to catch a last glimpse of the face of the dead man, and telling the policeman as he thrusts her back, "My boy must see him; he paid for the operation which gave my son his sight?"

But aside from his unselfishness and his interest in other people this man carried about with him a strange sense of the presence of God. This was the chief source of his influence over others. What wonder that such qualities made a success out of even the dull administrative office of a bishop! His brief episcopate is the most brilliant in the history of the diocese

over which he presided. If God intended him, as he doubtless intended Chrysostom, for the pulpit rather than the episcopate, there was yet so much manhood in him that he could not fail even in an uncongenial office. Indeed, we incline to think that there was so much humanity at its best wrapped up in Phillips Brooks that he would have made a great statesman or a great business man had occasion demanded it. We believe, therefore, that his love for others, trained by his practical experience in the bishopric, would have made his administration the most brilliant and helpful which his Church in America has thus far known had his life been spared a quarter of a century longer. His large unselfishness and love for others, combined with the presence of God in his soul, enabled him to adapt his truth to the people to whom he ministered and to the age in which he lived.

3. But, whatever our views of the truth which Phillips Brooks taught or of the art with which he influenced his generation, all unite in bearing witness to the majestic personality of this princely man. His conception of man's sonship to God was not simply a theory; it became the controlling thought of his life, a fact of consciousness ever present with him. The power of Emerson consisted in his intellectual apprehension of man's divinity. Accordingly he sings :

So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When duty whispers low, "Thou must,"
The youth replies, "I can."

But Brooks applied Emerson's philosophy far more personally than did the sage of Concord. He loved communion with God. When Horace Bushnell was an old man he was asked one morning how he had rested through the night. He replied that he had not slept much, but had enjoyed a delightful visit with God. So we imagine Brooks enjoyed many a delightful visit with the heavenly Father. In speaking of the night which Jesus spent with God before calling his disciples Dr. Brooks insists that Jesus did not spend the time in begging the Father to furnish him the best twelve candidates for the apostleship. He thinks the night was spent chiefly in communion, and the decisions upon the persons for the apostolate occupied a comparatively short time near the dawn. The speculation throws light upon Dr. Brooks's habits. He probably did not spend

many nights wrestling with God for external blessings, like Jacob and Elijah. His praying was rather such a communion with Christ as St. John must have enjoyed after the ascension of the Master. Dr. Brooks fully believed that he was a son of God, and his life was as fully controlled by his consciousness of such a relation to God as a prince's life is controlled by the consciousness of his relation to the royal family. It was this which made the life of Phillips Brooks so dignified and yet so attractive. He was certainly one of the most lovable men on the globe. At the center of his being he was not primarily an ecclesiastic or even a preacher. The core of all was manliness. But manliness with him was not simply earthly. At the center he was consciously the child of God. Better still, he claimed the same privilege of divine fellowship for every other human being, and was himself, therefore, simply the representative of our humanity at its best. So we love to call him Phillips Brooks, just as we love to call our great martyr President Abraham Lincoln, because each represented manhood in its grandeur and its simplicity.

It was this blending of truth and of love for others, with his noble personality, which made Dr. Brooks one of the greatest preachers of his age. Surely his cultivation of spiritual vision by obedience to the light, his humility in not even asking to know everything and in not aiming to frame a philosophy of the universe, and the harmonious blending of his intellectual and emotional and moral life produced a great preacher and remarkable sermons. The sermons were written almost spontaneously. His thought in them flows with the swift rush of Niagara between Lake Erie and the falls. What largeness and breadth and sympathy and insight, what discernment of the principles of spiritual life and growth, and what vital truth he preached his sermons reveal in part, but only those who heard him can fully know. His consciousness of God, his insight into spiritual truth, and the atmosphere of the other world which he carried with him made him essentially the prophet of his age. It has been the writer's privilege to hear, aside from the leading preachers of his own Church, Beecher and Talmage and Moody and Storrs in America, and Spurgeon, Farrar, George MacDonald, Père Hyacinthe, and Canon Liddon in Europe. Liddon was a greater logician than Dr. Brooks, although he did not see such

great spiritual truths as Brooks beheld. Beecher was a greater master of the art of oratory, but was not so inspiring a preacher as Brooks. Spurgeon was a man of greater practical knowledge, but did not impress one so fully as did Brooks as a man sent from God to bear witness to the truth. In this respect Bishop Simpson most nearly resembled him. Both were prophets, seeing visions and revealing the mind of Christ. Simpson sometimes caught visions of the third heaven, which transcended the experiences of Brooks. But Brooks dwelt far more constantly in the atmosphere of the first heaven than did his great compeer. As a preacher he will probably exercise a wider influence upon thoughtful ministers in the twentieth century than Beecher or Simpson or Spurgeon or Liddon, or perhaps than all of them combined. But posterity will never see his princely form, towering six feet and a half in height, and his majestic face, combining the thoughtfulness and fire of Webster with the sweetness of Fénelon or Fletcher, and his massive frame, impressing one at first as a giant, yet so filled with light and life that he seemed as radiant as an angel.

We are all disappointed that just as his long years of communion with God were blossoming into fruitfulness, just as all America was learning to love him and Europe was beginning to recognize him, just as the material philosophy of our nineteenth century was becoming leavened by his spiritual thought, projected through his consecrated life, while the problem of his success as an ecclesiastical statesman was unsettled, and when his own Church so greatly needed him, this great, good man, without a family and without a sympathizing word from friends who did not dream of his danger, and with his great tasks apparently unfinished, was suddenly called away. But perhaps it is well. Every life has its Gethsemane and its Golgotha. His great work and his sudden death will hallow his life and place an aureole around his brow. Like Enoch "he was not; for God took him." So passed the Chrysostom of America, the St. John of the twentieth century. "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"

J. W. Bashford

ART. IV.—THE ORIGIN OF EGYPTIAN CULTURE.*

THERE is an ever-growing interest in Egypt. The land itself becomes yearly more accessible to tourists from Europe and America, whose interest in its history is stimulated and satisfied, not only by a sight of its monuments, but also by the books of modern scholars. Every year the number increases of those who go to the Nile, not for one visit only, but to spend successive winters amid "such weather as cannot be found anywhere else in the world."† Those who go annually—happy opportunity—become, perforce, scholars in greater or less degree, and by letters or addresses, or even by papers of scientific importance, awake new interest in the old cultureland of antiquity. Scholars (in the strictest sense of that word) multiply whose lives are given to the study of Egyptian texts and to all that history, religion, and art which are found in those texts or buried with them. Other scholars also, whose days and nights are devoted to the Greeks, to the Hebrews, to the Phœnicians, and to yet other peoples of antiquity, find necessary for their special work more or less knowledge of Egyptian language or literature or history or art. All these classes have been contributors to a knowledge of Egypt, either by their own work or by the work of those whose interest they excited. Egyptian studies have also been fortunate in the aid received from successful fiction; and Ebers and his imitators and successors have given many their first impressions concerning the "black" land. From travelers and scholars and novelists the presses are ever teeming with new books concerning Egypt.

This widespread interest has had great influence for good, not only in the culture disseminated, but also in that it has induced gifts of money for archaeological research and for the establishment of museums. It has at times perhaps worked ill; for untrained men have been led by it into the production of books and papers written to satisfy the popular demand, but

* *Der babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur nachgewiesen*, von Dr. Fritz Hommel. München, 1892. Price, 5 marks (circ. \$1.25).

Das Verhältniss des ägyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen, von Adolph Erman. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xlv, pp. 93, ff., 1892.

Ueber den Grad der Verwandtschaft des Altägyptischen mit dem Semitischen, von F. Hommel. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II, p. 342, ff., 1892.

† Professor Sayce, in personal letter to the author.

serving only to perpetuate errors or to popularize impossible theories. To day the curiosity awakened and maintained by these various means is in every land where books are read and lectures heard. There is, indeed, in some quarters a feeling so strong and an interest so deep that other races of the ancient world are counted of little moment. These students find in Egypt the home of every great discovery and of every great idea of antiquity. The alphabet was there invented; God was there cognized as one; sculpture had there its birth; writing was there first practiced; and so on through an imposing, though for the most part erroneous, list.

Within the last few years there has been growing a new department of archæological study—Assyriology. Its progress has been rapid beyond precedent. It numbers to-day more active scholars in the great universities of the world than does Egyptology. It has devoted its energy to the study of the monuments found in the great Mesopotamian valley—monuments left by the Assyro-Babylonian people and containing their vast and important literature. The new science has fought its way to recognition with many difficulties and with but little assistance; were it not for the fact that Assyrian scholars have produced from the newly found treasures some valuable illustrations of the Old Testament their department would have received less public favor. Assyriology can to-day report that it has successfully deciphered the Assyrian and Babylonian languages; that it has constructed a grammar more accurate and detailed than is possible to-day for Egyptian; that it has made a number of special vocabularies to portions of the literature, and has well advanced larger lexicons to the entire published body of inscriptions; and, finally, that it has contributed part of the material for, and much of the inspiration toward, the construction of a comparative grammar of the Semitic languages.*

For some time there have been indications that Assyriologists would soon claim more for their science and for the fields to which it is devoted. The claim is now definitely made, and if granted it will revolutionize the study of comparative language,

* By this latter statement the writer does not intend to imply that Assyrian holds the place among the Semitic languages that is rightly held by Sanskrit among the Indo-European. He does not consider that analogy a true one, for the reason that Assyrian does not hold the same relative position of age to the sister tongues that Sanskrit does in the other family.

literature, art, and religion in the ancient world. It is briefly this: that the culture of Egypt was not a native product—that it was, indeed, derived from Babylonia. It would be difficult to imagine a more revolutionary hypothesis than this. The popular writer has long pointed to the high antiquity of Egyptian civilization and the fact that a noble culture there held sway when all Europe was in barbarism. The statement now made is that the hoary dates in Egyptian history are much later than the early dates in the history of Babylonia, and that all the glory of Egypt's superb civilization finds its roots in the land between the rivers.

This claim has had precursors in various attempts to find some connection between the Egyptian language and the Semitic family of human speech. One of the earliest advocates of this relationship was Benfey,* who endeavored by arguments chiefly philological and lexicographical to show that the Semites are but one branch of a greater family which includes Egyptian and all the other languages of northern Africa. Benfey went much too far in this theory, the logical outcome of which would be to deprive us of the classification of the Semitic group altogether and leave us with a group as absurd as the Turanian.† Benfey's theories were adopted by Bunsen, who made them thoroughly absurd by adding a new hypothesis, that Egyptian was the link which connected the Indo-European with the Semitic family, forming a transition between them.‡ Ernst Meier§ and Paul Bötticher|| also attached themselves to the original theory, and partly also De Rougé.¶ But though these were great names in support of Benfey, yet greater names were arrayed wholly or partly in opposition, especially Pott,** Ewald,†† and Renan.‡‡ These men made short work of

* *Ueber das Verhältniss der ägyptischen Sprache zum semitischen Sprachstamm.* Leipzig, 1844.

† Comp. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 33. Cambridge, 1890.

‡ *Ägyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, i, pp. xi, xiii, 338, ff. (Hamburg, 1845), and v, second part, p. 69, ff. (Gotha, 1856).

§ *Hebräisches Wurzelwörterbuch. Anhang über das Verhältniss des ägyptischen Sprachstammes zum Semitischen.* Mannheim, 1845.

|| *Wurzelforschungen.* Halle, 1852.

¶ *Memoire sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Ahmès*, p. 196. Paris, 1851. On De Rougé's attachment to this theory comp. Renan, *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 32 (Paris, 1878), with W. Wright, *Lectures*, etc., p. 33.

** *Hallische Jahrbücher*, 1838, p. 461.

†† *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1845, p. 1964. So Renan.

‡‡ *Ibid.*, p. 88, ff.

Benfey's extravagant theory ; but the really central truth was still a truth, and that would not down.

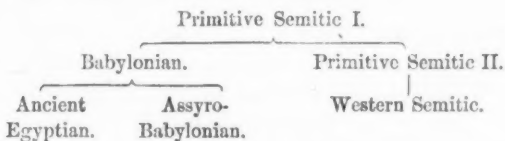
There was a close relation of some sort between the Egyptian and the Semitic languages, and that fact found increasing recognition among scholars in both departments. Plain evidence of this relation is, for example, seen in a comparison of the personal pronouns in Coptic and in Hebrew, Arabic, and Assyrian, a comparison whose effectiveness is somewhat lessened by the proof that the Coptic use of those forms as real pronouns is of relatively recent date.* But this proof is supplanted by a better one. The pronominal suffix in the pyramid texts, used to indicate the possessive relation in the noun and the subject (not the object) in the verb, is exactly the same as in the Semitic languages, save only in the third masculine singular. Here is proof enough of some relation. It is better proof than a list of words, the same in both Egyptian and Semitic, would be, for the simple reason that words may often be borrowed by one language from another ; but the borrowing of a set of forms is highly improbable. Such a list requires careful sifting to eliminate the words which are surely or even probably loan words.

Here now is some relation made out between the language of the Nile valley and its northern neighbors. Whether that relation is close enough to warrant our placing Egyptian among the Semitic languages is quite another and much larger question. But even if answered in the affirmative we have not made a very important assertion to any but the philologist. The ethnologist is not greatly moved by it ; for it is now admitted on all sides that language is no proof of race. When the barbarous Teutons from the depths of primeval forests in northern Europe poured into Italy and overturned the Roman empire they soon abandoned their Teutonic language and adopted Latin, from which, in their speaking of it, Italian was ultimately developed. In their case surely the use of a Romance language was no proof of Romance race. In like manner the Goths in the Iberian peninsula adopted a Romance tongue ; while the Kelts in Cornwall abandoned their own speech for English. The religion of Mohammed has driven out the ancient Coptic speech of Egypt and supplanted it with Arabic.

* So Sethe, *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, xxix, 121. Comp. Erman, *Z. D. M. G.*, xlvii, p. 96.

And everywhere in the world the Jew has abandoned his own language for the language of the nation or people with whom he lives. Speech proves nothing concerning origin, but gives proof only of social contact. In every instance above cited social contact explains the change in language, and the same explanation will suffice for many other instances not here cited.*

Now, there can be no doubt that there is a strongly marked resemblance between ancient Egyptian, on the one hand, and the Semitic languages, on the other. This resemblance is found to be marked in the lexica of these two groups, and long lists of words have been collected which are identical in Egyptian and in the Semitic languages. If these words were few in number or confined to one class of ideas they might be called loan words, and it might be said that the Egyptians had borrowed them from some Semitic people with whom they had been in contact. But they are so numerous and so varied that this explanation is impossible, and it must be admitted that there is a closer relation to be found than this of mere borrowers and lenders. When to these lists of words there is added the great resemblance in pronouns and the marked resemblance in some of the verb forms we see at once why Hommel regards it as certain that Egyptian is to be placed in the circle of the Semitic languages. He notices that the resemblances between Egyptian and Semitic are found most clearly when Egyptian is compared with Assyro-Babylonian, and not quite so markedly when the comparison is made with Syriac, Arabic, or Hebrew. He therefore makes the genealogical tree in the following manner, connecting Egyptian closely with the languages of Nineveh and Babylon :



We have, therefore, swung round the entire circuit of views concerning the relation of Egyptian speech to the Semitic languages. We have seen how Benfey put not only Egyptian but

* For a thoroughly admirable statement of this truth, see Professor A. H. Sayce's valuable little book, *The Races of the Old Testament*, chap. II (London, 1891), and the same author's *Principles of Comparative Philology*, pp. 175, ff. London and New York, 1893.

also the dialects of northern Africa into the Semitic group. We have followed the various denials and disproofs of his theory, some of which went so far as to deny that there was any connection between Egyptian and Semitic. We have now reached the state of investigation where the connection may be said to be proved, and where Hommel claims that it is sufficiently close to prove that the Egyptian language is a sister to the Assyro-Babylonian. Hommel may have gone too far and too fast in this conclusion. It is, perhaps, not yet demonstrated that Egyptian is Semitic. It may yet be demonstrated, but we must go slowly in such investigation.

For our present purpose it makes no difference whether Egyptian is a Semitic language or not. We have already secured all the proof that is needed for our argument. We have shown that the entire body of Egyptian and Assyrian scholars are agreed that Egyptian is closely related in some way to the Assyro-Babylonian language. Now, *language is proof of social contact*. If, therefore, Egyptian is closely related to the Semitic languages that is proof positive that at some period in their history the Egyptian people must have been in close social contact with some Semitic people. But it has also been shown that the forms and words in Egyptian which are most like the Semitic are to be found in early Egyptian, and especially in the pyramid texts, and that the Semitic forms and words which they most closely resemble are to be found in Assyro-Babylonian. It follows, therefore, that the Egyptians were in contact with the Assyro-Babylonian people, and that the period of contact was prior to the pyramid period, that is, before 2700 B. C.,* and the contact sufficiently close to have a deep and abiding influence upon the Egyptian tongue. A further proof of this fact is found in a comparison of the ancient hieroglyphic signs of Egyptian with the most ancient forms of the Babylonian characters. It is impossible to expound satisfactorily here this relationship, for that would necessitate the use of Egyptian and old Babylonian founts of type. It must suffice to say that the Egyptian ideograms for many of the most common words are the same as the ideograms in old Babylonian, such, for example, as the signs for land, city, right,

* The date is almost certain to be earlier than this. This is the latest possible date for the end of Dynasty V, according to Eduard Meyer and Adolph Erman. Wiedemann would say that it was about 4000 B. C.

woman, house, day, fish, etc.* These resemblances are so great that they can only be explained as having been taken outright from the Babylonian syllabary by the Egyptians. But if the Egyptian language and writing were either identical with those of Babylonia or were borrowed from them or influenced by them it is *a priori* probable that the Egyptians borrowed something else from the Babylonians. That they borrowed also the fundamental elements of their culture we shall now attempt to prove.†

One of the most ancient cities of Babylonia was Eridu. The name *Eridu* in Babylonian was originally composed of two words, *Urru-Dugga*, which are found in a still older form as *Gurru-Dugga*, which means "city of the good (god)." In very earliest times the name was *Nun-ki*. This city of Nun-ki or Eridu was the center of the worship of the god Ea. The early literature of Babylonia is full of allusions to this city and to the worship of Ea which it represented. Ea was the "good god," who drove away from his people the demons of darkness and death and disease. The old incantations address him, and the very oldest of them mention Eridu as the place of his worship and, indeed, as his home. These indications point to a great antiquity for the city. It becomes plain, indeed, that it was the oldest religious center of Babylonia; for, no matter how far back we go in the tracing of religious ceremonies in Babylonia, we shall always find that behind the usage in Ur and in Babylon and in Larsa there lurks always in the little clay book a reference to Eridu. But there is still further proof of the antiquity of this city. Before there was any kingdom in southern Babylonia there were little confederacies clustering about Ur, Larsa, and other places. The earliest of these little political centers was Shirpurla.‡ The first ruler of Shirpurla known to us was Nina-ur. Several inscriptions of his were found by M. de Sarzec at Telloh, and have since been published in Paris.§ After this king there is a line of kings and rulers of considerable length before the well-known name of Gudea is reached.

* For long list see Hommel, *ibid.*, pp. 61, *f.*

† The main lines of this proof are Hommel's. The exposition of them, as well as their supplementing and sundry translations, are the present writer's.

‡ The reading of this name, on the tablets, is very uncertain. I follow Amfaut (R. P., new series, i, p. 40, *f.*). Jensen reads Shīr-bur-la, but thinks that this is only an ideographic writing for Lagash (K. B., iii, p. 2).

§ *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Paris, 1884-1887.

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Now Gudea ruled about 3000 B. C. The origin of his city goes back far beyond that day, for he is one of the later rulers in the dynasty whose earliest representative was Nina-ur. That gives to Shirpurla great antiquity. But Eridu is older than Shirpurla, for on these very inscriptions it is referred to as a religious center of great importance which must be older than Shirpurla itself. The city of Nun-ki, Urru-dugga, or Eridu, the "city of the good (god)," is therefore the oldest Babylonian city known to us.

One of the very oldest cities in Egypt is Memphis. Memphis is celebrated not only in history but in fable, and these two unite in representing it as of great antiquity. Herodotus says that Memphis was founded by Menes, the first historical king of Egypt, who had himself come from Thine, near Abydos. We are not able to trace the city back to Menes by any Egyptian documents, and we must leave that to stand with Herodotus as sponsor for it. But we have clear Egyptian testimony concerning it at an early date. Pepi I, a pharaoh of Dynasty VI, made Memphis his residence and built there his pyramid, with the name *Mn-nfr*, that is, *Men-nofer*, or Memphis; and the date of that building was about 2500 B. C., or perhaps somewhat earlier. We cannot establish any historic foundation for Menes, but we can trace Memphis back to Pepi I; and it probably goes back somewhat earlier than that. There is, however, nothing to make us believe that it is as old as the Babylonian Eridu, "the city of the good (god)." It is now a noteworthy thing that Memphis also means "city of the good (god)," or in other words that *Mn-nfr* is an Egyptian translation of the Babylonian *Urru-dugga*. As Eridu is older than Memphis we are at once inclined to say that the people who built Memphis named it after Eridu, especially as we have already seen that these same Egyptians had been in social contact with the Babylonians. But it might be objected that this name, "city of the good (god)," is just the kind of appellation that might have originated in two places without either being copied from the other. Let us then see if there is any other connection between these two cities than their names.

We turn back again to Eridu and the Babylonians. The Babylonian creation stories represent a great chaos of waters as existing before the creation of the earth. When the earth was

created there was stretched above it a great firmament studded with stars. Between this firmament and the earth was the air, the home of the god In-lilla or Bel. Above the firmament were the waters, the "ocean of heaven," and beneath the earth were also waters, called by the Babylonians *apsu*; hence ἀβυσσος, and the English word *abyss*. But the waters above the firmament were in connection with the waters beneath the earth, the whole forming a great ocean somewhat similar to Homer's Ὠκεανός. The Babylonian name for this ocean was *anum* or *anun*, and in a still shorter form *nun*.* But we have said above that Eridu was also called Nun-ki. In Babylonian *ki* means place; hence this old name of Eridu means simply *ocean-place*, a place so called, we might say, because it was the place of worship of Ea, the god of the earth and of the waters under the earth. But there are other connections between Nun-ki and Ea. The three great gods of Babylonia were Anu, the god of heaven, Bel, the god of the air, and Ea, god of the earth. There were other gods, as we shall see, but in the earliest times they were held to be subordinate to these three gods. Anu—exactly the same word as *anum*, *anun*, or *nun*—is the god of the heavens and of the great heaven ocean beyond the firmament. Bel, or In-lilla, is the god of the air or of the space between the heavens and the earth; while Ea, or In-ki, is the god of the earth and the waters under the earth. These are the fundamental relationships of the gods of the earliest Babylonian mythology.

If now we turn back again to Egypt we shall find that in the early pyramid texts there were three chief gods venerated: Nun, heaven's ocean; Shu, god of the air; and Qeb (written *Seb* by some), the god of the earth. In other words, we find the same order of deities in Memphis as in Eridu, and one of them has the same name in both places. That can hardly be accidental. But the parallel goes still further. By the side of Nun the Egyptians placed a feminine personification called Nut (probably pronounced originally *nunit*), while the Babylonians did exactly the same, calling her Anunit. Now, in Egyptian this goddess Nut becomes the wife of Qeb, the earth

*Practically the whole of this view of the Babylonian ideas concerning the waters of heaven's ocean was made out by Lenormant from Diodorus. But he failed to see its great applications to Assyrian and Egyptian mythology. Comp. Lenormant, *Magie der Chaldaer*, Jena, 1878.

god, and in Babylonian Anunit becomes the wife of Ea, the earth god. There are still other relations. In Babylonia Bel is the son of Nun or Anum, while in Egypt Shu, who corresponds to Bel, is the son of Nun. In Babylonia Ea is the son of Bel, and in Egypt Qeb is the son of Shu, the god of the air.

This is certainly sufficient to show that the genealogical tree of the gods of Memphis is the same as the genealogical tree of the gods of Eridu. But we can go still further in our comparison of these two mythologies. In Babylonia Ea had a son, Marduk (the biblical Merodach), and in Egypt Qeb had a son, Osiris. The names Marduk and Osiris certainly do not sound alike, but in the two languages the ideograms for these two gods are exactly alike. In Babylonian the sign for Marduk is composed of two elements, one meaning dwelling, the other meaning eye; and in Egyptian Osiris is represented by the same ideographic values. Further than this, these two gods have closely corresponding qualities and powers. Marduk is the creator of the world; so also is Osiris. Marduk is the friend of men and Ea's interpreter to them; Osiris is a god friendly to mankind. Marduk has as his sister and wife the goddess Istar, Osiris has as his wife Isis; but Isis is written also Ist, or Wst, and that is apparently the same word as Istar. Marduk slays the great dragon Tiamat, Osiris slays the great dragon Apep; but Apep is the Greek Apophis, with which we may compare the Babylonian *abubu*. In one word, these two gods of Babylonia and of Egypt correspond in every essential particular. In order to see at a glance their correspondence let us set down side by side the genealogies of the great gods of Babylonia and of Egypt:

BABYLONIA.

Nun
|
Bel—In-lilla
|
Ea—Anunit
|
Marduk

EGYPT.

Nun
|
Shu—Tef-nut
|
Qeb—Nut
|
Osiris.

These correspondences are so close, so definite, that they must remove all doubt of accidental correspondence. Memphis spoke a language which had been influenced deeply by the language of Babylonia; Memphis was named after the oldest city of

Babylonia; Memphis borrowed from Babylonia its greatest genealogy of gods, and adopted for its reverence these Babylonian gods with their characters and works. This is certainly a long step forward in our attempt to find the source of Egyptian religion in Babylonia. But we can go still further.

In very early times there was in Egypt a city which is known to us by the name of On, or by its Greek name of Heliopolis. Now, On is called in the pyramid texts 'Iunu, which is only another writing of Nun, just as 'Itum is another form for Tum. We have, therefore, presumptive evidence that the earliest settlers of On named their city after the Babylonian Nun, or Nun-ki. This presumption is greatly strengthened by an examination of the gods who were worshiped in On. They were Tum, Shu, Tef-nut, Qeb, Nut, etc.; that is, the very same gods which the people of Memphis borrowed from Eridu, with this exception, that Tum takes the place of Nun. This is easily explained. It was customary in Egypt for cities to place first in the list of gods that particular divinity who was the special protector of their city. Tum was the patron god of On, hence his position here. To our collection of material we may, therefore, add On as an evidence of the borrowing of the Egyptians from the Babylonians. We have, therefore, shown that in two of the oldest cities of Egypt the deities of highest rank came from Babylonia.

Let us turn for still further evidence to some of the minor deities. The moon god appears in Egypt in two forms, named Dehuti and Chonsu. The Babylonian moon god bears the names of Sin and Enzu, or in its older form, Gunzu. Gunzu is evidently the same word as Chonsu. Further than this, Gunzu means lord of knowledge; but the Egyptian Dehuti (Thoth) is the lord of knowledge. In name and in character the moon deities of Babylonia and of Egypt correspond. Among the Babylonians Istar is the goddess of that great star which we call Sirius; and in Egypt the corresponding goddess, Isis, mentioned above, is also the goddess of the same star. We saw above that in On the god Tum took the place of Nun. In Babylonia this very name Tum appears in the form of *Dun*, and one of the Babylonian syllabaries shows that Dun was another name for Anu, or Anum. And so we might go on to identify one god after another, in name, in character, or in

ideogram, or even in all three of these particulars. But we rest this portion of the case with only one little added touch of tone-color.

In early days, in the far-off Mesopotamian valley, when the people sang praises to Ea and Marduk they used certain words in the psalms in their liturgy which were maintained centuries later in the worship of the Semitic Babylonians. In Egypt, in those splendid and stately temples, down through the ages a few of those same old pre-Semitic liturgical words were still in use. We have shown that in two great branches of their culture the Egyptians owed much to the Babylonians. Their language, in its form and content, was either borrowed outright from Babylonia or was deeply and forever influenced by the Babylonian language. And we have shown that the religion of Egypt, in its fundamentals and in its externals of worship, was borrowed from Babylonia.

In still another branch of their culture, neither linguistic nor religious, we find a little hint of Babylonian influence. We have recently grown somewhat accustomed to academic and ecclesiastical jubilees. The jubilee among us means commonly the celebration of a period of fifty years. The pope celebrates the jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood, and Professor Max Müller celebrates the jubilee of his doctorate received from the University of Leipsic. In Assyria and Babylonia the period celebrated was not fifty, but thirty, years. But this same period exactly is found to be celebrated in early times among the Egyptians. As Tiele has noted, Usertesen celebrated a thirty-year jubilee of his coronation as King of Egypt. This fact by itself would have little weight; but as one feature of a long series of cumulative evidence it adds considerably to the proof of Egypt's dependence upon Babylonia.

Finally, the most thoroughly characteristic form of Egyptian architecture is borrowed from Babylonia. The pyramid looms up before every visitor to Cairo as the most genuine product of the soil. There are about seventy-five pyramids in Egypt, and besides that the pyramid form appears constantly as the top of tombs and of obelisks. But before Chufu (or Cheops, as he is called by Herodotus) built his pyramid in Egypt the pyramid was represented in numerous enormous temples and

other buildings in Babylonia. So that even the pyramid, which seems at first blush to be so thoroughly a product of the Nile valley, is rather to be ascribed to the land of the great river, the River Euphrates.

As in language, in religion, in customs, and in architecture the Egyptians have been shown to be borrowers rather than originators, so could we also show that they borrowed from the same source the fundamentals of their plastic art. But we forbear, with this word of warning. We believe it has been shown that in all these things Egypt borrowed from Babylonia; we believe that the culture of Egypt had its origin in Babylonia; but we do not deny or even imply in any sense that the Egyptians were not a great culture people. They did borrow the foundations of their culture, but they built on those foundations a splendid superstructure. We have still much to learn from them and about them. Our investigations, and especially that part of them in which we have been following the learned and brilliant Hommel, have served chiefly to push still further back the origins of the culture of Egypt, and to remove them from the valley of the Nile to the valley of the Euphrates.

Robert W. Rogers.

ART. V.—THE ALLEGED ESTRANGEMENT OF THE MASSES.

It has come to be understood or, at least, currently reported in some quarters that "the masses" are estranged from the Church, if not also from the Gospel of Jesus Christ. That this witness is true in so far as it is therein implied that the masses are not in love with the Church, are neither members of it nor regular attendants upon its services, common observation must affirm; and it is allowed on all hands that this regrettable fact constitutes one of the gravest problems of our times.

If writers upon this subject were content in general with this putting of the matter, or were in the least enthusiastic over the ever-multiplying efforts of the modern Church to reach and save the masses, this article would have remained unwritten. It is undeniable, however, that a majority of current complaints concerning the estrangement of the masses are pervaded with the idea that the problem is new; that in some strange way it has been generated in the alembic of our modern life—an uncanny sprite never seen by our fathers, and begotten only in the decay and feebleness of the Church and as the progeny of its marriage with the spirit of this lower world. We are asked to believe that the masses are now estranged in a sense and to a degree unknown a generation, a century, or a millennium gone by.

It is in no captious spirit that we venture to raise the question whether this indictment of the modern Church is sustained by the facts. He must be strangely unmindful of the past who suffers himself to imbibe the notion that opposition from without or sharp, biting criticism from within are new facts in the history of the Church. Yet because of certain manifestations of opposition and estrangement on the part of "men of corrupt minds," and also of sincere though misguided people, it is latterly assumed that the Church has, in some sinister way, trespassed against the common people, and that it should forthwith apologize and proceed to amend both its doctrines and its methods, so as to render itself more acceptable to men "who mind earthly things." Adverse criticism of the Church on this particular line is just now a favorite pastime with the

many. No modern "fad" is more prevalent. Many who yesterday were busy with evolution, the mistakes of Moses, and the intricate questions involving the authorship of various books of the Old and New Testament Scriptures are finding it possible to make rather more noise, and with less expenditure of the gray matter of the brain, by joining in the hue and cry against the Church for its alleged neglect of social problems in general and of the common people in particular. This popular vein is, however, already well-nigh worked out, and will probably ere long be abandoned for another. But these questions, or rather the unwarranted handling of them, "overthrow the faith of some," and others, devout souls, are to-day in perplexity and trouble on this account. It may be serviceable, therefore, to keep certain facts steadily in mind:

1. The Church is not a machine ordained and warranted to operate unfailingly upon mankind, everywhere converting sinners into saints with or without their consent. The Church itself is made up of those who have yielded themselves to God. The masses, in these Christian lands at least, have had in general the same opportunities as those who are now in the Church. Some writers seem to have forgotten that the crime which Stephen charged upon his murderers, "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost," is still possible in the nineteenth century, and that the same class whom Jesus charged with loving darkness rather than light are with us still. Of all the vagaries put forth in recent years the notion that the opposition or indifference of ungodly men amounts to final proof of the Church's culpability is one of the most transparently unsound, and particularly in a period when the opposition is tempered from the ferocious and blood hostility of earlier times to mere estrangement. Yet here and there a really able man tumbles into this pit with all the awkwardness of an unwary bear.

Those who heard Dr. Rainsford's address on "City Evangelization" at Chautauqua, last summer, will recall the incident which he narrated of his walking one evening close behind two men on their way home from work. Passing by a church edifice, one of the men looked up and uttered a common and vulgar oath against the Church. "Why should a workingman damn the Church?" asked the doctor; and his treatment of the inci-

dent was to the point that if the Church were what it ought to be the workingman would be in love with it and would extol rather than anathematize it. Here, then, you have a principle, announced by a school of modern apostles of reform, as follows: Whatever a profane man sees fit to damn is thereby proven to be wrong, and must be reconstructed to suit the profane swearer's notions of things. Dr. Rainsford then proceeded to recommend the reconstruction of the Church so as to include the dramshop (admitting that he did not expect to carry his audience with him), as well as the reading room and gymnasium. His picture of the working-girl, coming out of the factory in the evening weary with her day's work and needing the dance hall rather than the church prayer meeting, is suggestive of much that is now challenging the Church in the name of "reform."

Another bright and piquant writer of national reputation, a woman, proposes that the Church shall win the public by devoting itself to the servant-girl question. She wants the preachers to stop preaching about the life to come and turn the churches into training schools for hired help, and the "sessions" and "official boards" into agencies to secure the needed relief for overburdened and well-nigh distracted housekeepers. Others are equally confident that the Church will neither conciliate nor win the masses until, by some magic influence, it brings about an equality of social condition between rich and poor, vicious and virtuous, industrious and idle. In short, their name is legion who kindly offer to point out the mistakes of the Church and to give inerrant advice as to its proper reconstruction.

It might be a sufficient answer to many complaints to say that the world is wide, and if the case of the Church is as bad as is sometimes reported it is the solemn duty of these clear-eyed censors to unite, go among the masses, and form a Church which shall more fully represent modern ideas and keep abreast of modern progress. This should be a matter of easy accomplishment, since only a small proportion of the population are now members of the Church, and of these an overwhelming majority are women and children. Upon the authority of the complainants themselves there must be a vast preponderance of the world's intellectual and moral force

unable to cooperate with the Church as now conducted, but anxious to fall in with a live, progressive Church in which "the religion of humanity" is taught and practiced.

It is worth while for those who make so much of the matter of estrangement to inquire whether the indorsement of the unregenerate masses can ever be given to the true Church of Jesus Christ in the sense which is deemed so desirable. "The disciple is not above his master. . . . If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?" We almost feel like apologizing to the modern critics for quoting another text which they do not like to mention, because it seems to leave an unpleasant taste in some mouths: "The carnal mind is enmity against God." Many are willing to admit that the carnal mind now and then behaves badly—for the want of proper education; but what a shock it gives their sensibilities to be told, and by divine authority, that the carnal mind is enmity against God. Every movement that has aimed at bringing the apostate race back to God has encountered, in some of its myriad forms, the clash and collision of this enmity—none the less enmity because, owing to its insidious nature, unperceived and, therefore, in general denied by fallen man himself. It was this enmity which led the masses in olden time to kill God's prophets and stone the holiest men sent as messengers of mercy among mankind. It was this enmity which led the masses to give only a doubtful hearing to the Son of God himself, and eventually to reject and put him to death.

But "the common people heard him gladly." Yes, for a short time; but they soon wearied of him, and their merely curious interest turned to indifference, so that the chief priests and rulers no longer had occasion to fear the people and encountered no opposition in putting him to death. It is an amazing perversion of the gospel narrative to represent the common people as uniformly in accord with Jesus of Nazareth in the days of his flesh, and only alienated from the modern Church because of its unlikeness to its Lord. The estrangement of the multitude from Jesus—if there can be estrangement where there has never been loyalty and love—began during his own personal ministry. Witness his treatment on the occasion of his visit to Nazareth, the home of his boyhood.

Here, if anywhere, he might have looked at least for toleration; but even this was denied him. He was not allowed to finish even a single discourse. For a while "they wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth;" but presently as the preacher reaches the heart of his sermon the scene changes, "and all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong." Granted that this was done at the instigation of the leaders, yet "all they in the synagogue" rose up against him. Another sad instance of estrangement is furnished in the narrative of the erring woman brought to Jesus for judgment. It was not the length or tediousness of the sermon nor any unwisdom of method on the part of the preacher that presently left him no audience but the woman to preach to. The common people and the rulers were alike in this, that neither class heard him gladly when he rebuked their sins and demanded repentance and amendment of life. There were very few, indeed, of any class who consented to take the yoke of Christ upon them and to learn of him. "From that time many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him." His doctrine did not suit them. Yet his disciples were taken in general from the common people.

Nor was Jesus deceived as to the nature of his short-lived popularity. A large measure of it was due to the superhuman wonders which he wrought and the expectation of present temporal benefit. "Ye seek me, . . . because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled." The estrangement of the multitude could go no farther than to choose Barabbas rather than Jesus, and to demand the death of him who was "full of grace and truth." Why should it be thought so marvelous a thing that Barabbas is still the choice of at least a proportion of the multitude? The personal history of Him who "went about doing good" stands as a perpetual protest against the much-vaunted notion in these latter days that the world needs only to see goodness and benevolence illustrated in human character in order to be won to God thereby. If this assumption were founded in truth Jesus would have had no occasion to weep over the doomed city, already drunken with the blood of proph-

ets and not to be appeased until his own had been poured out with every humiliating circumstance which implacable hostility could devise.

2. Emerging from these dark and dismal shadows cast by the awful spectacle of depraved nature spurning the Saviour whom it so sorely needs, a ray of light darts through the gloom as we behold Mary, out of whom the devils were cast, worshipping her Lord with tears of gratitude, and the penitent Zacchæus hastening to restore his ill-gotten gain and to henceforth consider the poor. It is instances like these, repeated over and over again in history, of personal choice of Jesus rather than Barabbas, which vindicate God's remedy for sin and prove that Jesus is the all-sufficient Saviour of them that believe. It is not given to mortals to estimate the work of the Redeemer upon the earth, it was so vast and varied; but as a winner of men to his standard, peerless preacher though he was, his success was not conspicuous. Many a modern apostle is now winning in the slums and highways and darkest depths of sin more souls than did the Master himself. It is worthy of note also that these wise winners of souls are not the men who complain about the estrangement of the masses. Statistics can only inadequately measure the progress of the kingdom of God; but nevertheless they are indispensable. They serve to show that the kingdom gains ground at a more rapid rate than ever before. Protestant Churches in this country made a gain of fifty per cent in actual communicants during the last decade, while the proportion of communicants to the whole population has advanced from one in fourteen at the opening of this century to one in five at the present time. Does this prove estrangement as a distinguishing feature of our times?

3. But it is charged that the Church is unfaithful to her true mission, and is drifting away from the poor. Sad, indeed, if true. Yet common observation, reinforced by careful examination of the facts, must dismiss the complaint as, in the main, groundless. Sporadic cases of various evil diseases may be found even in periods of general healthfulness; but it is neither just nor wise to cry "epidemic" on that account. Whatever may be the regrettable history of a few exceptional societies the Church in general continues, as in former times, to make her converts chiefly among the common people. Of our own

branch of the Church it may be questioned whether the proportion of conspicuously rich men is relatively larger than among the first generation of Methodists. It was not without reason that a paper read a short time ago upon a public occasion bore the suggestive title of "The Neglected Rich." If the Church fails at any particular point in these later days it is rather in reaching the hearts and consciences of the wealthy class. From the altars of our churches and our modern training schools we are sending out a hundred devoted workers, courageous and skillful in dealing with poverty, rags, filth, and the commoner vices, for every one who is either qualified or willing to invade palaces of luxury and win the rich to Jesus Christ. That there is here and there a "rich man's church," which in its exclusive spirit and aristocratic methods is a discredit to the general Church, cannot be denied. So also a wart or mole or other blemish is liable to fasten itself upon the fairest human body without being in any sense an essential or representative part of it. The rich man's church is rare in proportion to the millions who constitute the strength and conserving force of the Church of Jesus Christ. If all the church organizations in Christendom which refuse to welcome the poor were to-day eliminated the general Church would hold on its way as aforesaid, with very slightly diminished numbers and no enervating sense of loss.

"Our people are mostly poor, a few only in comfortable circumstances," was remarked to the writer recently by the pastor of a congregation which, after heroic struggles, was about to dedicate a new church. Is not this, except in a few favored localities, the usual testimony which greets the great body of our pastors on going to assist their brethren with dedications, reopenings, etc.? Candidates for the gospel ministry are admonished by bishops and presbyters that their work will be mainly among the common people. The pillars of their various congregations, the aggressive and managing forces which are a pastor's right arm of strength, as well as the people whom he is expected to reach and save, are by overwhelming majorities those found in the common walks of life, including the poorest of the poor. This fact must not be lost sight of by those disposed to complain of the Church's lack of large expenditure in dealing with the poverty that is all around it. Is it

nothing that there is a vast amount of poverty within the Church which is taken care of by the Church, and that everywhere the Church is gathering more and more of the world's poverty and want into its own bosom? The writer of this article, on assuming the pastorate of a church in a large city, had among his earliest converts two people fairly representative of a numerous class which enters the Church in all large cities every year. One was a drunkard whose family was upon the verge of starvation. The man was saved and remained faithful, while his sick and helpless family became the care of the church. The other case was a woman burdened with a worthless though not intemperate husband. The little furniture had all been seized for rent, with the exception of a cook stove and a couple of washtubs. The woman had recently cut off and sold her hair to buy bread for her two little children. When the writer visited the family they could not offer him a chair to sit down on, only one of the tubs turned bottom upward. Kindly Christian hearts and willing hands not only furnished this desolate home with food and necessary articles of furniture, but the man was coaxed into making an effort to earn something. It was a revelation to discover what a vast amount of this same sort of work the city churches in general were doing. Who can estimate the number of sick, destitute, and aged people supported in whole or in part out of the funds of the various religious congregations, and the number of orphans and other young people assisted to an education or placed in positions to earn their own living, to say nothing of the hospitals, asylums, schools, and colleges erected and in great part maintained by the contributions of God's people. If the Church at large did nothing for the next five years for the outside poor the care of those recently gathered into her communion from the ways of sin and poverty would be in itself a mighty work of benevolence and tax her resources to the utmost.

4. One more complaint only can now be noticed; and this, for want of space, though the subject is most alluring, can be but briefly touched upon. In the present period of unrest in the industrial world it is asserted that the sympathy of the Church is not as fully on the side of the wage-earner as it should be. This would be a strange fact, if fact it could be shown to be, since wage-earners constitute the bone and sinew of the Church

itself and easily govern this most democratic of all organizations by reason of their vast numerical preponderance. The Church, in standing for law and order and for rational and peaceful methods of adjusting the differences between employer and employed, is the true friend of the workingman, and on this account has incurred the resentment only of the thoughtless and reckless class, whose counsels of bloody riot, poison, and dynamite are at this day the most serious menace to the workingman's cause.

Which of the numerous and oftentimes mutually antagonistic expedients for the abolition of poverty put forth so confidently by their various champions shall the Church adopt? Can it indorse any of them without at the same time injuring the wage-earner's cause and forfeiting the right to his esteem? "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" was the Master's reply to one who, as others do now, misapprehended the true function of the religious teacher and the Church. There are economic questions upon which the Church, as such, can pass no authoritative judgment. In a community where the greenback heresy ran riot for a time we were importuned to preach this new evangel of deliverance for the oppressed multitudes, and, upon refusal to convert the church into a greenback club, were solemnly admonished by good citizens that the church which refused to espouse the cause of the poor was doomed to perish. Those men have, for the most part, changed their views, and no longer believe that greed is to be restrained or poverty abolished by the unlimited issue of fiat money.

That there is dissatisfaction with present industrial conditions is certain; but is this a new thing? When was that golden period vaguely hinted at nowadays when labor and capital were alike satisfied with the share assigned to each by the then existing plan of distribution? "Be content with your wages" was John the Baptist's earnest exhortation nearly two thousand years ago to men who believed then, as others believe now, that the wage question is the one which must be allowed to dwarf all others; while at a still earlier day God's anger is kindled, and he promises to be "a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages." Happily, it is easy to demonstrate that the modern tendency is toward a shortening of the hours of labor, an increase of wages, and a consequent mul-

tiplication of home comforts for the workingman and his family. In all this the Church rejoices, and she may justly congratulate herself that these results, though only the beginnings of better things, are mainly found where the Gospel has been the most widely preached and the most generally accepted.

But is there not a widespread demand for some new adjustment of the relations of employer and employed? Undoubtedly. Strikes and uprisings are unfortunately numerous; but history is witness to the fact that disturbances, revolts, and even gigantic rebellions are not always either rational or born out of real grievances. It will not do to make too much of "tendencies." There are tendencies which require to be watched, restrained, and, if need be, put down by force. He is only poorly acquainted with human nature who has not discovered that there is a kind of restlessness, not to say recklessness, which is born of prosperity. Is the millionaire satisfied with being a simple millionaire, or any the less keen or more law-abiding in the pursuit of his second million? It is not poverty which goads him on in a career which, in many instances, is nothing short of criminal. Why should the wage-earner be supposed to be exempt from this general passion for acquisition? Why should he, or any friend of his, put forth the claim that he is capable of making disturbance and defying law only when his rights have been invaded? This is to claim for the workingman a kind of virtue which does not reside in human nature in general. Common observation the country over teaches us that the man who yesterday was glad to earn a dollar a day is to-day easily made dissatisfied with twice that amount or more under the sinister teachings of certain would-be reformers. Prosperity has its dangerous tendencies no less than adversity. That genial old angler, Izaak Walton, speaks of a time when "the nation [England] was in peace and happy, though inwardly sick of being well." Many a man has had to lament with bitter, unavailing tears his own inability to perceive when he was doing well.

That anarchistic and socialistic tendencies are rife among us is not a matter of question. That the former are to be resisted by force, if need be, is agreed by good citizens in general. But are not also the socialistic and semisocialistic agitators among us culpable in this, that they seek to trade upon the anarchistic clamor against law and order and to sow the seeds of disaf-

fection among contented and quiet people? In the controversy now pending it is worth while to note that the God of the Bible has no quarrel with rich men as such nor with the relation of employer and employed. The whole issue must turn upon the question whether the wage-earner is receiving his due proportion of the joint earnings of labor, enterprise, and capital. Cooperation promised a few years ago to be the equitable and satisfactory policy of industrial effort in the future; but the general failure of those enterprises in which the workmen have had the gains, as well as the losses, to divide among themselves is a fact of great significance. It may be questioned whether the industries of the country can be so managed as to yield a larger percentage of earnings to labor in the aggregate than it is now receiving. While in some instances the lion's share of profits is carried off by capital, it is a demonstrated fact that a large majority of all ventures which employ paid labor result in positive loss, and very many even in bankruptcy to their projectors, the wage-earners being the only parties who derive any financial benefit from them whatever.

Nor is there the slightest hint in the word of God that individual ownership of land is wrong, or that the Creator ever intended absolute equality of worldly substance, any more than of brain power or physical stature. The community of goods attempted at Jerusalem is mentioned as an interesting incident in early church history, but nowhere is it commended and nowhere is it prescribed as the duty of the Church. For aught that appears in the record, this incident may be intended to serve as a beacon of warning, lest unnatural conditions of life should put needless temptation in the path of weak disciples to repeat the crime for which Ananias and Sapphira suffered death. Furthermore, there is nothing new in the schemes of socialistic and semisocialistic agitators for leveling human conditions; they have been tried over and over again and found wanting. The Christian minister will best serve his fellow-men by preaching the divine Fatherhood and insisting on a recognition of the human brotherhood in all the relations of life.

There are morning stars big with prophecy of a better day for the industrial world already appearing above the horizon. It is good, wholesome, soul-refreshing exercise for ourselves, as well as mightily helpful to our fellow-men, to direct the

common gaze upon the all too few, but luminous, instances of men who stand here and there in modern business life as witnesses for God and righteousness and the human brotherhood, undismayed and uncorrupted by the spirit of greed and turbulence raging woefully all about them. The proprietor of a great daily newspaper in Philadelphia, whose varied and ingenious philanthropies on both sides of the sea are well known, represents the typical Christian employer of labor. He pays his men more than the market price of labor; the sick are cared for and the aged veterans pensioned. Other examples of the brotherly treatment of employees might easily be given. Instances now and then occurring of the unsolicited increase of wages on the part of corporations have also in them elements of hopeful prophecy, and the long-suffering patience of the many delights to hear of them.

The following instance of what is occasionally taking place in the business world was narrated at the session of the Evangelical Alliance held in Washington, D. C., the writer being present and noting the effect of the incident on the great audience: A manufacturer, embarrassed by debt, urged an acquaintance in the same line of business to relieve him by buying him out. He was willing to sell for fifteen thousand dollars, though his factory was well worth twenty thousand. The gentleman thus appealed to consulted his wife about the matter, and returned the next day with the following answer: "I am ready to buy your factory, but I agree with my wife, who says I must pay you the full price for it. It is a settled principle with us never to take advantage of another's necessities to get property at less than its actual value. I think your factory is worth twenty thousand dollars, and I am willing to pay you that amount for it."

The sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty are still among us. Let us make their acquaintance.

Robt. F. Bishop

ART. VI.—CREED AND HOME OF THE EARLIEST
ARYANS.

Few investigations are more fascinating than that which by purely scientific methods attempts to determine the ideas, language, location, and life of the prehistoric community from which the Indo-European peoples are descended. Priceless results have already been achieved by these studies, but even greater are sure to follow. In the present paper it is proposed to call attention to certain new books in this field and to their teachings. Several of these publications seem not to have been noticed as yet in any of the reviews on this side of the Atlantic.* The first, by Alexander William, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (Lord Lindsay), is a privately printed work for which the present writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Dowager Countess of Crawford. Its title is as follows: *The Creed of Japheth, that is, of the Race popularly surnamed Indo-Germanic or Aryan, as held before the Period of its Dispersion; ascertained by the Aid of Comparative Mythology and Language*. The volume is a stately octavo of pp. xlvii and 829. Only one hundred and fifty copies were printed, and these for private circulation only. Within the limits of this paper it is difficult to characterize this learned work as it deserves. It differs almost *toto coelo* from the mass of recent treatises on the subject. Without showing traces of having been influenced by such older writers as George S. Faber, the author reaches conclusions almost identical with theirs touching a positive primeval revelation of God to the first fathers of the human family and touching the promise of a divine-human Redeemer. The traces of these and other revealed truths discovered by the author in the oldest Indo-European myths, rites, symbols, and institutions are at the close of the book woven together into an articulated Proto-Aryan confession of faith startling in its definiteness, in its extent, and in its agreement with fully developed Christian theology. Whatever final verdict scholars may,

* The uninitiated reader will find the most comprehensive and scholarly account of the literature of all questions in this field, to the year 1890, in *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, by Dr. O. Schrader, translated by F. B. Jevons, London and New York, 1890. Part First, chapter iv, reviews opinions as to the original home of the Aryans, and Part Fourth, chapter xiv, gives the author's own conclusions. Chapter xiii treats of Proto-Aryan religion.

pass upon the work—which, though only lately printed, was written more than ten years ago and appears under the disadvantages of posthumous editing—it is refreshing to the reader to encounter so bold and able and learned and modern an advocate of a theory of mythology now wholly unfashionable. The unexpected defense of the same general theory of primeval monotheism by Walter Bradford Woodgate, M.A. (Oxon.), barrister of the Oxford Circuit, in his just published book entitled *A Modern Layman's Faith concerning the Creed and Breed of the "Thoroughbred Man,"* despite its very curious associated speculations, suggests the question whether, after all, the time-honored biblical conception of the primeval religion and of the origin of the various ethnic paganisms is forever shelved.

The latest and one of the most significant of German works upon the religious ideas of the Proto-Aryans and their implications is *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas*, by Ernst Krause (Carus Sterne), Glogau, 1893. This is an octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-two closely printed pages, with twenty-six illustrations. In a previous work, *Tuiskoland, der arischen Staemme und Goetter Urheimat*, Glogau, 1891, Dr. Krause had set forth an astonishing array of facts and combinations of facts going to show that all Indo-European mythologies and symbolisms and forms of worship point back to a primeval cradle-land high in the north of Europe. Of course in this view there was no striking novelty, as nearly all recent writers have abandoned the old theory of an Asiatic Aryan cradle-land in favor of one in Europe. As long ago as 1884, in preparing the third edition of his *Principles of Comparative Philology*, Professor Sayce remodeled his book in such wise as to conform it to the new view, one consequence of which is that the Sanskrit and Old Persian, instead of being, as nearest the old home, the best representatives of the primeval Aryan tongue, must, as farthest removed from the original home, be considered as the worst representatives of that primeval language. In *Tuiskoland* Dr. Krause argued with great force that the language, myths, legends, sagas, etc., of the Germans best represent the ideas and beliefs and habits of the primeval Aryans, and that as between a Greek or Latin form of an ancient myth or custom and a German form preference is always to be given to the German as truer to the original from

which both proceeded. Even the sacred *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were made to submit to this canon of judgment. In this new and supplementary work, *Die Trojaburgen*, after replying in a lengthy introduction to some of the critics of the first treatise, the author presents another mass of most singular and out-of-the-way facts and considerations illustrative in fresh and striking ways of his original thesis. The number of Troy towns, or Troy fortresses, or Troy labyrinths, etc., which he finds in the northern regions of Europe is certainly surprising, and the indications furnished that the Asiatic Troy of Homer was only a late copy—one of many copies—of a far older cosmical one common to the undivided Aryans in the high North are full of interest to every student of the past. The superiority of his interpretations to those of Sir George W. Cox on this head is striking.*

In London, recently, appeared the first volume of a still more remarkable work by Mr. John O'Neill. It is entitled *The Night of the Gods*. Its sub-title reads, "An Inquiry into Cosmic and Cosmogonic Mythology and Symbolism." The book (a large octavo, pp. 582) is a marvel of learned research and of scholarly insight. It is not written to support any preconceived theory as to the cradle-land of mankind or of the Aryans. Indeed, it rigidly rules out all philosophizing as to prehistoric migrations and all inferences as to the bearing of the collected facts on biblical conceptions of human origins, human history, or human character. In a purely objective manner it investigates the mythologies and the religious symbolism of all historic nations and brings together whatever can throw light upon the cosmogonical and cosmological ideas of the early men. The result is a work which no future student of mythology or of the philosophy of mythology can safely neglect. Its fundamental thesis is that the visible revolution of the heavens

* Since this article was sent to the printer we have received from Dr. Krause a new work entitled *Die nordische Herkunft der Trojasage bezeugt durch den Krug von Tragilatella, eine dritthalbtausendjährige Urkunde*, Glogau, 1893. This is an interesting supplement to the above mentioned *Trojaburgen Nordeuropas*. In the year 1877, at Tragilatella, in Italy, among other relics of ancient Etruscan art, a remarkable pitcher was found. Expert archaeologists date it as far back as the sixth or seventh century before Christ. The decorations upon the surface of the vessel are very curious, and in one of them our author finds so remarkable a confirmation of his views of the origin and cosmical significance of the labyrinth, or "Troy-town," in ancient thought that he compares it to the Rosetta stone in the decisiveness of its testimony. All teachers of Homer should certainly read it and the work to which it serves as a supplement.

around the axis of the universe and the primeval worship of a supreme, almighty, world-directing God enthroned at the summit of this axis in the northern celestial pole furnish us a more effective key to all the great mythologies than has ever hitherto been applied to their interpretation.

Learned opinion touching the quality of the religious beliefs and rites of the primeval Aryans has seemed of late less positive than it was twenty-five years ago. Then the view generally prevalent was substantially that presented by Pictet in his monumental work, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*, namely, that while comparative philology shows that before their dispersion the ancestors of the Indo-European peoples were polytheistic it also shows clear indications of a faith on their part in a supreme God—a heaven-God, father and lord of all lesser divinities, father and lord of men. This was the view of Max Müller. As late as 1883 it found expression in J. Darmesteter's *Le Dieu Suprême dans la Mythologie Indo-Européenne*. Since that time writers have in many cases, like Schrader in 1890, expressed themselves very cautiously and obscurely on this point; or, like Professor Rhys in 1886, expressly denied to the primitive Aryans anything more than a theology of the type usually found among modern savages. In Professor Rhys's case this teaching is the more noticeable, as ten years earlier he had expressed himself in a very different way. His own explanation of the change is that in the meantime he has read Andrew Lang's *Custom and Myth* and learned to apply to all myth-products the generalizations of anthropology.* Unfortunately for this defense, the generalizations of anthropology, as represented by Mr. Lang, are not likely to be very long-lived, particularly those that relate to the gifted spirits who created the primeval arts and myths and symbolisms of humanity. Current writers may speak less confidently of the religion of the primitive Aryans than did Pictet; but if the progress of recent study has brought to light a single fact that clearly invalidates the general representation given by him more than thirty years ago the present writer must confess that he knows not where to find it.

Coming now to the authors immediately before us and to their relation to the standpoint occupied by the readers of the

* *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 110. London, 1887.

Methodist Review, it seems evident upon a moment's reflection that Lord Crawford's view of primeval Aryan belief is by no means the only one compatible with the biblical account of the world's history. While the Bible teaches that the earliest men were monotheists it nowhere states or implies that the postdiluvian ancestry of the Indo-European nations were so. Indeed, according to the biblical account of the origin of nations, from acts of human depravity the speedy loss of the knowledge of the one true God would naturally follow the dispersion of the race and the loss of its common tongue. The author of *The Creed of Japhet* seems, therefore, quite unnecessarily anxious to vindicate to the primitive Aryans a high and directly revealed knowledge of God and of his redemptive purposes.* The works of Krause and O'Neill do not attempt to determine the precise grade of primitive Aryan ideas relative to a monotheistic standard. Still less are they concerned to take into account any bearing of their discussions upon the Bible or upon its representations of ancient history. As between the two, it is evident that Mr. O'Neill makes the nearest approach to an ascription of monotheistic ideas to the authors of Aryan and of all the primordial mythologies; but it is not clear that his supreme, world-directing Deity is to be conceived of as possessing creative or ethically absolute powers.

As to the part of the world in which the oldest myths of the Aryans originated there cannot long remain a serious doubt. It is, indeed, conceivable that these myths antedate the rise of the Aryan stock, and hence that they do not necessarily fix the birthland of the Aryan peoples; few, however, seem as yet inclined to take such a view. One thing, however, is constantly coming into greater and greater prominence, to wit, the fact that circumpolar phenomena of nature are clearly discernible in the oldest of the myths preserved to us in the Aryan tongues. In 1886, in attempting to interpret the Celtic myths, Professor Rhys found it necessary to recognize this fact.† A few pages later he expresses his belief that the cradle of the Aryans will have

* It is not without significance that, while Earl Crawford did not question the traditional view respecting the Asiatic birthland of the Aryans, he yet considered the religious faith of the western or European Aryans as far purer and less adulterated than that of the Asiatic branches. Had he lived till the date of the publication of his work one can scarcely doubt that he too would have advocated the now current view touching the common mother country.

† *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 632, 633.

to be located at some spot "within the Arctic Circle." Then, referring in a foot-note to a book entitled *Paradise Found* and to a paper therein quoted, he argues that no fatal objection is likely to be brought against the view that within the same circumpolar district is to be found the cradle of the entire human race. The recent treatises advocating the European origin of the Aryans are now so numerous and so much in demand that the Boston Public Library two years ago printed the extended list of their titles for public use. See *Bulletin*, vol. ix, pp. 130-134. Among the authors there cited many recognize with more or less distinctness the Arctic character of essential features in the Aryan myths. Several base upon them arguments of no small cogency relative to the primitive Aryan habitat. Penka anticipates some of Krause's insights, just as years ago Wolfgang Menzel in other instances anticipated Penka.

The above-named works by Krause and O'Neill are certain to concentrate attention for some time to come on these geographical birthmarks traceable in the oldest traditions of the Indo-Europeans. Dr. Krause's championship of *Tuiskoland* is so able, and Mr. O'Neill's accumulations of Aryan and extra-Aryan facts are so abundant and significant, that neither can be ignored. To a believer in the origin of the human race at the North Pole the issue of the debate over the location of the cradle of the Aryans is not material, for the reason that the origination of the Aryan stock was postdiluvian, and hence subsequent to the period when the polar region was habitable. It would interest him, however, should the final verdict of science be that the invention of the zodiac was antediluvian, and that the elaborate primeval astronomy and cosmology of which it is a part were constructed from a polar standpoint. Such a conclusion would not only settle the long-mooted question as to the location of the cradle of mankind, but would also demonstrate the supersavage endowments of quaternary or tertiary men. Moreover, it is perfectly safe to say that the reaching of this conclusion was never so strongly probable as it is to-day.

William F. Warren.

ART. VII.—CONSTANTINE AND CHRISTIANITY.

No picture is ever hung on the walls of the Louvre, in Paris, until the artist shall have been dead at least ten years. It is supposed that an artist's real worth cannot be estimated while living. So, it is claimed, the true character of a great man and his work can never be ascertained while living, and that posterity alone can judge of the value of his life to the world. While this is doubtless true in the main it must be confessed that very great difficulty attends the effort of one who attempts to analyze the character and weigh the work of a man who has been dead nearly sixteen hundred years; for, while in some respects the passage of years brings out more clearly the intrinsic value of a man's life to his own and to succeeding generations, the motives that inspired him, the prejudices that warped his judgment, the ambitions that impelled him can only be understood by putting one's self, as far as possible, into the midst of his environment. The critic should never forget that he is himself the creature of educational surroundings and the product of the generation in which he lives, as well as is the character that he may attempt to criticise. The influence of environment, therefore, at both ends disqualifies one, to some extent, to give an impartial and just estimate of a man's character and work who lived and wrought at so great a distance in the past as Constantine the Great. Ruter says:

No character has been exhibited to posterity in lights more contradictory and irreconcilable than that of Constantine. Christian writers, transported with his profession of their faith, have perhaps magnified his abilities and virtues to excess and thrown an almost celestial splendor over every part of the portrait; while pagan historians have spread their gloomy shades upon the canvas and obscured every trait that was great and amiable.

Constantine was born at Naissus, in Mœsia, A. D. 274. His father was Constantius, a general in the Roman army, who was promoted by Diocletian "to the dignity of Cæsar, a sort of lieutenant emperor," and assigned to Britain, Gaul, and Spain. Helena, the supposed discoverer of the real cross on which our Lord was put to death, was his mother. Both his parents were friends of Christianity, while in later life his mother became a

most enthusiastic, if not a superstitious, follower of Christ. In his early life Constantine was a pronounced pagan. At thirty-one he joined his father in Britain. Upon the death of Constantius, at York, his soldiers immediately declared Constantine his successor. Two years later, in A. D. 308, there were five emperors of Rome besides himself, each being assigned to a department of his own.

Three things at this time were manifest: (1) that the Roman empire could never be restored to its former glory while divided into so many fragments; (2) that paganism was tottering to its fall and rapidly losing its hold upon the people; (3) that despised and persecuted Christianity was multiplying its adherents with marvelous rapidity and was on its way to the throne of the Cæsars before Constantine blessed or cursed it (a matter still in question) with his toleration and subsequent support. He therefore at once addressed himself to the herculean task of uniting the empire under one head, and that head himself, by dethroning his rivals. In six years he had conquered four of them, leaving the empire to the joint rule of himself and Licinius. It was when on his way into Gaul, and when he was in doubt as to whether he should accept Christianity or continue a pagan, that he claimed to behold in the clear sky, shortly after noon, a vision of the cross bearing the inscription, "By this conquer." This vision was related by the emperor himself to Eusebius, the historian, confirmed by an oath, and was received with implicit confidence during many ages of Christianity. But the more critical investigations of modern historical inquiry have almost destroyed its authority with rational men. "His vision," says Bishop Hurst, in his *Short History of the Early Church*, "though in the line of his sympathies, was probably only a shrewd method to attract the Christians to his support." The probability is that the emperor saw a remarkable natural phenomenon, and that his lively imagination gave it the form of a cross with the accompanying inscription. His succeeding dream, in which Christ, as claimed, appeared to him and ordered him to make a banner in the shape of the celestial sign, under which his army would be crowned with certain victory, can easily be accounted for without admitting a divine revelation. Certain it is, however, that Constantine believed in both the vision and the dream, and therefore proceeded to make the

famous *labarum*, a shaft encased in gold, bearing the image of the cross and the name of Christ, together with the bust of the emperor and his family, which was ever afterward carried at the head of his army. Says Milman :

And so for the first time the meek and peaceful Jesus became a god of battle, and the cross, the holy sign of Christian redemption, a banner of bloody strife. This irreconcilable incongruity between the symbol of universal peace and the horrors of war, in my judgment, is conclusive against the miraculous or supernatural character of the transaction.

But this circumstance created boundless enthusiasm among the soldiers, and at the battle of Milvian Bridge Maxentius went down in the Tiber, leaving Constantine and Licinius joint rulers of the empire. Following this victory came the edict, bearing the names of the two emperors, granting toleration to all religions, including Christianity, of course, and ordering the restoration of all Christian churches, giving as a reason for the issuance of the same the manifest favor of the Christian's God to the army. It is worthy of note that this was not the first edict of the kind emanating from a Roman emperor. In A. D. 260 Galliennus, when he saw that his father prospered as long as he favored the disciples of Christ, declared Christianity to be a lawful religion, and ordered the restoration of all confiscated churches and property to their rightful owners. This first edict of toleration was revoked by Aurelian in A. D. 275.

Licinius soon became jealous of the growing fame and power of Constantine and returned again to the old method of persecuting the Christians, who had universally rallied to the support of Constantine. The lines were now drawn more distinctly than ever between paganism and Christianity, and a war, virtually between the two systems, but involving the unity of the empire, was carried on by the respective leaders. In the year 324 Constantine conquered his last rival and was left the sole emperor of the Roman world. Christianity soon became the state religion, though paganism was tolerated and to some extent supported by the emperor.

Following his successful enthronement as sole emperor came domestic crimes that seriously becloud his name. Suspicious of his son Crispus, born of his first wife, Minervina, he condemned

him to death. Then Fausta, the empress, for no better reason, was sent to the same fate. Crime followed crime until the mind of Constantine was haunted day and night with bloody specters. A bold satire privately circulated, and also posted on the walls of the royal palace, compared the splendid but bloody times with those of Nero. The populace of Rome became indignant, restless, and threatening, and the emperor, in punishment of the Italians, and doubtless also to protect his own person, removed from the city on the Tiber to the city on the Bosphorus, where he established the new capital of Constantinople. After a reign of several years of great worldly show and extravagance, which cannot be followed in this paper, Constantine died, aged sixty-three years, having been emperor thirty-one years. He was not baptized and formally received into the Christian Church until a few days before his death. After his baptism he laid aside his imperial purple and dressed in white, which he wore until his death. He was interred in Constantinople under a church of his own construction.

Constantine was a shrewd political trimmer. I have already said that when he first came into power, as one of the six emperors of Rome, he found paganism falling to pieces, and the empire with it, under the leavening power of Christianity. It did not require a very great mind to forecast the future of Christianity. Galerius had forced Christians into the army, and his generals ordered them to adore the image of the emperor and sacrifice to the gods. The one act was blasphemy, the other idolatry. A young Numidian sublimely refused and was slain. When the army was honoring Cæsar in pagan style at Tangiers, Marcellus, a centurion, rose from the camp table and flung down his belt and sword, saying, "From this moment I cease to serve as a soldier. I despise the worship of your gods." He was executed. The word of God was ordered to be burned. Diligent search was made in every house to find and destroy this precious treasure. An African bishop said, "Here is my body; take it, burn it; but I will not deliver up the word of God." A deacon said, "Never, sir; never! Had I children I would sooner deliver them to you than the divine word." He and his wife were burned together. But in the midst of all this Christianity marched on toward the throne. It could not be stamped out or burned out. He must have been

dull indeed who could not see its superiority to paganism, and that a restored empire, to be permanent, must have a better religion than paganism. It is quite evident, therefore, from a calm survey of the environment and character of Constantine, that his conversion to Christianity was from state or political considerations. In his real life for the most part he was nearly as much a pagan as a Christian. He rebuilt and refurnished pagan as well as Christian temples. He is charged with sacrificing to pagan gods, while he certainly consulted their oracles. He accepted and held the office of pontifex maximus—high priest of paganism—all his life, while he assumed to be father and head of the Church. His edict concerning the general observance of Sunday (*solis dies*), day of the sun, was quite as acceptable to the pagans as to the Christians, since under the new paganism the day among the heathen corresponding to the Christian's first day of the week was the sacred day of the sun worshipers. So feeble was his personal faith in Christianity that his more pronounced successors hesitated not to enroll him among the divinities of paganism.

That he was by nature tolerant is admitted by most historians.

Let all enjoy the same peace; let no one disturb another in his religious worship; let each act as he sees fit; let those who withhold their worship from God have their temples of falsehood if they think right.

So he wrote in one of his edicts, according to Eusebius. This is carrying toleration almost to excess. He was so anxious for the peace of the Church, and so indulgent in his nature, that he thought secret impunity to sin was better than public scandal. Gibbon says:

The Nicene Council was edified by his public declaration that if he surprised a bishop in the act of adultery he should cast his imperial mantle over the episcopal sinner.

But in his generous sentiments of religious liberty and freedom of thought he is worthy of commendation and imitation in these times, with the single qualification that no religion should be tolerated that interferes with the duty of the citizen to the State or to his home or with the peaceable enjoyment of the right of religious discussion and worship by others. In this age it ill becomes us to exhibit a spirit of intolerance

and bigotry that was condemned by a Roman emperor so far behind us in culture and civilization.

The union of Church and State, however, as far as accomplished by Constantine is not a matter of congratulation. Freeman says, "The Church conquered the State." Bishop Hurst says:

This is a great error. Constantine's adoption of Christianity as the state religion was the conquest of the Church by the State. All the moral forces of the Church were now impaired. The bondage of the Church to the State thus early begun produced the great evils of the following twelve centuries—superstition, the purchase of office, the angry controversy about theological trifles, the moral corruption of the clergy, and the ignorance of the masses.

Neander says:

The reign of Constantine bears witness that the State which seeks to advance Christianity by the worldly means at its command may be the occasion of more injury to this holy cause than the earthly power which opposes it, with whatever virulence.

The lesson to us is absolute separation of Church and State, with pronounced and perpetual independence of the one from the other. While the sphere of each, when rightly interpreted, is not antagonistic to the other, they should not encroach upon each other's territory. The demand for religious instruction in the public schools, the appropriation of public funds for the support of sectarian schools, even among the Indians, the affiliation of the Church in her official character with any political party or civil administration, are all matters to be deplored and condemned. Even the appointment of chaplains by government and the payment of their salaries out of public funds is thought by some to be a matter of questionable propriety still open for debate. This is a relic of the times of Constantine, and is claimed to be contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees to every man the right to choose his own method of religious worship, to select his own spiritual guide, and to be exempt from all governmental tax for the support of any system of worship. Absolute independence of all legislative control, with absolute voluntariness in all religious thought and worship, is unquestionably the best and safest maxim for both Church and State.

While Constantine as a soldier was a man of war, as a statesman, or rather as a churchman, he was a man of peace. He desired the unity of the Church quite as much as the unity of the empire. Indeed, to his mind the one seemed to require the other. He was therefore greatly disturbed by the doctrinal divisions and disputations of the theologians.

Considering the age in which he lived, the condition of the Church, and the gravity of the questions involved at that time, it must be admitted that one of the best acts of his life was the convocation of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325. It is easy for us, living under such different circumstances, to criticise this act and the proceedings and results of that council; but if we had been living in that day we would doubtless have been in the debate, and most probably on the emperor's side. The divinity of our Lord was seriously doubted, and by many denied. While with our advanced knowledge we may object to some parts of the outer clothing in which the Nicene Creed comes down to us, yet who can estimate the influence of those formulated doctrines? They have been accepted in the main for nearly sixteen hundred years "as the standard of the orthodox faith in both Catholic and Protestant Churches;" and, while the debate did not stop with the decision of the council, the creed stood and "was the anchor of religious faith in the Middle Ages." Whether with the greater knowledge of the future, and in the exercise of that liberty of thought and criticism which is the admitted right of every man, there shall be any serious modification of this creed remains for some unborn historian to record.

The civil administration of Constantine was, without doubt, a great blessing alike to pagan, Jew, and Christian. Many of the laws enacted by him have come down to us and to all the people of Europe. He separated the military and civil departments of government and introduced many reforms and humane laws, that were followed by other rulers and will doubtless endure as long as civil government shall last.

Constantine was a man of providence. If God could use Moses, who in his haste killed an Egyptian, and David, who in his lust killed Uriah, and Solomon, who numbered his wives by the hundred, why could he not use Constantine, who had but two wives when it was the fashion for kings to have as many

as they desired, even though he had caused one of them to be suffocated in the bath? In his day and according to his light was he not as much the "man for the place" as was Abraham Lincoln?

I will close this imperfect review with a quotation from Dr. John Lord's *Beacon Lights of History*:

No emperor has received more praises than Constantine. He was fortunate in his biographers, who saw nothing to condemn in a prince who made Christianity the established religion of the empire. If not the greatest, he was one of the greatest, of all of the absolute monarchs who controlled the destinies of over one hundred millions of subjects. If not the best of the emperors, he was one of the best, as sovereigns are judged. I do not see in his character any extraordinary magnanimity or elevation of sentiment, or gentleness, or warmth of affection. He had great faults and great virtues, as strong men are apt to have. If he was addicted to the pleasures of the table he was chaste and continent in his marital relations. He had no mistresses, like Julius Cæsar and Louis XIV. He had a great reverence for the ordinances of the Christian religion. His life in the main was as decorous as it was useful. He was a very successful man, but he was also a very ambitious man; and an ambitious man is apt to be unscrupulous and cruel. Though he had to deal with bigots he was not himself fanatical. He was tolerant and enlightened. His most striking characteristic was policy. He was one of the most politic sovereigns that ever lived, like Henry IV of France, forecasting the future as well as balancing the present. . . . He tried to do right, not because it was right, like Marcus Aurelius, but because it was wise and expedient; he was a Christian because he saw that Christianity was a better religion than paganism, not because he craved a lofty religious life; he was a theologian after the pattern of Queen Elizabeth, because theological inquiries and disputations were the fashion of the day; but when theologians became rampant and arrogant he put them down and dictated what they should believe. He was comparatively indifferent to slaughter, else he would not have spent seventeen years of his life in civil war in order to be himself supreme. He cared little for the traditions of the empire, else he would not have transferred his capital to the banks of the Bosphorus. He was more like Peter the Great than like Napoleon I; yet he was a better man than either, and bestowed more benefits upon the world than both together, and is to be classed among the greatest benefactors that ever sat upon the throne.

W. H. Marshall.

ART. VIII.—ANTISEMITISM IN AMERICA.

EVER since Abraham went out from Ur of the Chaldees under the banner of God's covenant, the Hebrew has trod the path of history. The force of the early command, "Get thee out of thy country," has been perpetuated through all the years; and the seed of the high father has been literally "Hebrew" (wanderer). He never held but a few acres of the earth as his own, and then only for a little while and with but a feeble hold. He has moved among the nations, mingling with, but not assimilating, the foreign blood, and in his wanderings has found America. His vitality has confounded the wisest students of men. Nations have arisen, declined, and passed out of history; but he is here still with his original force unimpaired. The evolution of other races has obliterated the ancient distinctive marks; but the Jew remains a Jew. Without a country or a language peculiarly his own, suffering for generations the most bitter and persistent persecutions, resisting the attrition of the centuries, he lives "a miracle of history." Many and varied have been the efforts to account for this exhaustless vitality. We believe it to be found in his providential destiny, as expressed in the original covenant, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The God of history raised up this people and endowed them with a great idea which it was their mission to give to the world. A great truth can take the place of country, speech, friend, and preserve for a final conciliation any company of men who have the strength and courage to suffer, to be misunderstood and contemned, until at last they will be lost in that conciliation. Other peoples have lost their individuality, either because they had completed the articulation of their thought or because they had forgotten it. Israel has done neither. Its work is unfinished, nor has its great idea yet vanished from its heart, namely, one God and Father of us all; one world-wide brotherhood.

But those whose mission is to bless the world are predestined sufferers. The world's saviours are familiar with Gethsemane's shadows and Calvary's horrors. Israel's pathways have been stained with blood. Even in America, which in many respects

has been the wanderer's Canaan, there lingers toward the suffering race a hostile spirit unworthy of a people which affirms in the charter of its liberties that all men have "certain inalienable rights," among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." A Jewish lawyer of great ability once startled the author of this paper by saying :

You ask me when I expect the Messiah? He has come. He is right before you in my people. Your Christ is only a mere fragment of the sublime whole. My race is the Messiah. He gives to you your God, your divine truth, your salvation. But you despise and reject him. You crucify your Saviour; yet he lives. You lay him in his sepulcher; but the miracle of his resurrection is ever before you.

Antisemitism in America is as yet only a sentiment, and not, as in Germany or Russia, organized with a definite purpose, political or otherwise. But it is a sentiment that is dangerous, partly because it is the gnarled growth of a prejudice which has continued for eighteen centuries or more and, therefore, not easily eradicated, and partly because the policy of other countries to rid their lands of "the pestiferous race" is bringing to our shores a people with an education and genius alleged to be foreign to true Americanism. We need only refer to the single fact that the Jewish population in New York city increased from eighty thousand in 1880 to two hundred thousand in 1890 to convince ourselves that the Jewish question will necessarily become entangled with the emigration problem. Nor will we be able to dissociate it from its religious bearings; for, however the Jew may account for his singular individuality, the Gentile believes that it is his faith that makes him a Jew. It will be a sorry day for American liberty when religious questions are suffered to agitate it. But sorrier far will it be, when this cruel sentiment crystallizes into a definite political doctrine, for that people whose destiny is to be misunderstood and to suffer. Before this impending calamity the thoughtful Christian is impelled, by motives both patriotic and religious, to study this Jewish question, learn if possible the source and significance of the existing prejudice, and so in some measure eliminate its dangerous elements.

The antisemitic feeling in America is certainly not in any large degree due to an instinctive racial antipathy. Too many bloods commingle in this land and too many nationalities jostle

each other to admit of any physical revulsion from a race so closely akin as the Jew. Personal antipathies will doubtless arise, but, as in the case of other races, they are individual, and not racial. Indeed, it can be shown that the best specimens of physical manhood and womanly beauty are found among the rejected race. Dr. Guthrie pronounces the ideal head to be that of the Jews. There is in the very physiognomy of the choicest of the Hebrew race the unmistakable mark stamped by divinity. In all art centers, as Florence, Munich, Rome, Jewish models are at a premium. Many of us remember Joseph Cook's description of the light which shone from the face of certain Jews like a light from behind thin, translucent marble, and which he never saw in any other race. The absurdity of the so-called racial repugnance is evidenced by frequent intermarriages, and that in spite of the fact that the genius of the Jewish economy antagonizes such unions with the fury of religious conviction. The strain of Jewish blood in the Gentile races has improved the stock. In addition to this, art and fiction have thrown a glamour about this singular people and created for them in many minds a magnetic charm. Many of us go in and out among them as in story-land.

There are doubtless multitudes of Jews, like those recently exiled from Russia, who are repulsive indeed to the native American; but are the repulsive features essentially Jewish, or are they the marks of shame with which a foreign superstition and despotism have defaced an otherwise noble personality? The children of the wilderness were so spoiled by their Egyptian slavery as to be unworthy of the Lord's land. Nevertheless, in their loins were kings, psalmists, and prophets—aye, the Christ in whom civilization has its divinest thought. It is not given to many to see the noble side of the vulgar; and when vulgarity has foreign mannerism the task is yet more difficult. But his vision must be dull indeed who cannot see a splendor of promise in the most repulsive children of the wilderness who are unable yet to grasp the spirit of the promised land. What manhood is that which has impelled them to spurn all hope of material advancement, to renounce the soil on which they were born, all hallowed associations, and the graves of their dear ones, to brave exile, and all to remain true to a religion which had been to them only a precious burden? How

shall we characterize that spirit which, under an intolerable distress, remains strong in the joy of a deathless hope—"In the name of our God we will set up our banners?" Surely he is a poor lapidary who cannot see the latent fires in the uncut diamond.

The most recent mode of accounting for the baneful antipathy to the Jew is the one from which its victim revolts with a strength of protest which is really startling. It is, as stated by an English antisemite, that "the Jews are a parasitic nation. Detached from their own country, they insert themselves, for purposes of gain, into the homes of other nations, while they retain a marked and repellant nationality of their own. The Jew is detested because he eats out the core of nationality." The vehemence with which the Jew, especially in America, repels this charge is due not merely to its falsity, but to the ardor of the love he bears the land which has given him such unequaled opportunities in the fight of life. It is not the untruthfulness of the charge that so stirs him, but the insult it offers to a holy sentiment—the profanation of the inner sanctuary of his soul.

His appeal to history is, or ought to be, a complete vindication of the charge. He has shown that the characteristic of his race is to cling to the soil of the land in which it has been planted, and that patriotism is a passion which neither his own resentment nor the persecution of his Gentile countrymen can eradicate. In Germany, up to the time of the establishment of the kingdom of Westphalia, the Jews had been oppressed with such social and political restrictions as would naturally alienate them forever from their German oppressors. Napoleon was the first to give them equality of civil rights in their native land. Yet when Germany rose against the great emperor these Jews remembered only that they were Germans, and took the field for their German fatherland. It is familiar history which a recent Jewish advocate states in language as forcible as it is beautiful:

Had the Jews eaten out the core of the nationality of Spain when they drove the Moors forth from the city of generations—the Jerusalem of the West—and established the throne of Alonzo *el emperador*? Where had been the deathless glory of the Cid but for the Jews of Toledo? What Spaniards did Spain better service in that marvelous twelfth century than Spanish

Jews, who laid the pavements of La Blanca in soil from Mount Zion and who framed of cedar wood from Mount Lebanon that lofty and noble ceiling which still delights the artist and the architect?

It has been proven beyond dispute that the policy of representative Jews, such as Moses Montefiore and Nathan Mayer de Rothschild, has been to cultivate among their people the national feeling, to persuade them to use the tongue of their several countries, and, where possible, to purchase land and identify themselves with the great national institutions. In America it is a shame to insult this people as a drain upon the national life, when so many battlefields of American liberty are stained with Israel's blood. Patriotism arrays Jew against Jew. Can we so easily forget Lyon, who supported the government with his sword, and the Belmonts and Seligmans, who supported the national credit with their gold in the hour of peril? And when we remember that on the other side of that dread war the Jew stood shoulder to shoulder with the men of that section to which they owed allegiance, we have a proof positive that the passion of country is not lost in the stronger passion of the Jew.

It is an oft-repeated statement that the Jew is peculiarly a money-getter and, as the dominant power in the financial world, menaces the peace of the country. But how much of truth is in this statement? Doubtless there have been and there are Jews of immense wealth; but we have yet to learn instances in which their wealth was used to embarrass the governments under which they lived. Certainly we would not name as instances governments which, with military force, imprisoned the capitalist and confiscated his millions. Was Russia menaced by the millions which M. Samuel Solomonowitz put into the railways and educational institutions of his land? Did Rothschild embarrass the English government by loaning it \$200,000,000? The Jew has proven himself a competent tradesman by introducing a principle of keen competition, which cuts down prices and profits to the advantage of the consumer, but not to the advantage of the commercial classes who are set against him as rivals. Does this fact menace the country?

But, aside from all this, we candidly ask, Is the money power peculiarly Jewish? Certainly in America it is not. *The New*

York Tribune a short time ago published a directory of the millionaires in all the States in the Union. Gould, Vanderbilt, Astor, Huntington, Stanford, Crocker, Garrett, Mills, Carnegie, and probably a hundred or more others were ranked as possessing more than ten millions. We do not remember that a single Jew was named in this class. It is surprising how few of the so-called money-getting race were in the whole list. The writer could not identify more than one who reached the five-million mark. Considering that a large body of Jews have enjoyed American citizenship for more than fifty years—fifty years in which such fortunes have been accumulated as the world has not in the same space of time seen gathered in any other age or land—it is strange that these tradesmen, with equal opportunities, have been left behind in the race.

Is it true that the Jew wields the scepter in England? The landed aristocracy there, the great brewers, distillers, East Indian merchant princes, the great banking houses, the owners of shipping lines, the Cunards and Inmans, all combine to send "British gold" to the four corners of the earth. There are Jewish bankers also; but what we call the money power of to-day is not Jewish, but it is English and American. Freedom and a higher Christianity prevent its being confined to a class of citizens. Competition distributes this power without respect to blood or faith. It is despotism and a lower Christianity that, by persecution and uncertainty in the tenure of one's possessions, compel an oppressed class in any land to seek advantage solely in the power of wealth. This Saxon race of ours, that has outstripped in fair competition all other men in wealth-getting, has many Jewish qualities. This race takes life seriously, industriously, zealously, pertinaciously; by much study of the Bible the Saxon has made to a large degree Jewish conceptions his own. When the Anglo-Saxon shall emulate the Jew's temperance he will outrival the Jew in genius, power, wealth, and every other quality. In fact, he has done so already. So long as there is to be a *Judenhetze* there will be men who, by iteration of a trite untruth, will lead other men to believe it who have not the time, in the midst of ardent daily duties, to investigate. But if we listen to passionate Jew-baiters, like Treitschke, Stöcker, and Drumont, fidelity to truth demands that we give equally careful

audience to such scientific searchers as Virchow, Mommsen, and Leroy-Beaulieu.

Another thing affirmed as a peril to the nation is that the very soul of the communistic movement of the day is the Jew. In an article in the *Methodist Review* a few years ago we were misled by the following:

The socialistic and communistic movements originated in 1848 with the Jews, Karl Marx and Liebknecht, who initiated the crusade against existing social order and the relations of capital and labor. "Capital is robbery" is the fundamental principle of Marx. Ferdinand Lassalle, who founded what is now the German Socialistic party, was a Jew. The members of the Kagal, a Jewish secret society in Russia, show themselves to be the most radical of nihilists. Ten times as many Jews as Russians, Poles, or Germans recruit the nihilist ranks.

We deplore the false impression made by this statement. When men speak generically of "the Jews" they frequently attribute to all the shortcomings of some. That there are some Jews who threaten governments we concede. So there are some Christians; and the Jews supply no larger proportion of the ferment than the Christians. A moment's reflection must show that such statements are assertions so broad as to slander more Jews than they truthfully picture. Marx and Lassalle were Jews, but Fourier, Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc, Owen, Henry George were not. All of these cooperated in the holy cause of speaking for the oppressed, of compelling attention to the degradation and sufferings of the poor, of bringing about better conditions in all civilized lands. This much we say without subscribing to the philosophical premises on which they based their doctrine. When the pulpits of the world had no better remedy for the wrongs of men than that those who suffer shall have faith, these men, like the American abolitionists, by a line of writing, by the pen, not the sword, awakened the slumbering conscience of mankind. Soon the pulpits responded, and to-day Christian socialism has enlisted in its ranks the eloquence and the power of countless eminent divines, the cardinal in Baltimore, aye, the pope in Rome.

Many are the ministers who have echoed in sympathy with this modern spirit and have felt every place sacred where they could stir hearts to humane regard for the abstract rights of men. These socialists were Christians and Jews, extremists

sometimes, but never more extreme than One whose words are still a test of hope to the downtrodden, one who said, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." If there are elements of danger for States from such philosophies, these elements are not Jewish. They are not Gentile. They lie in the weakness of wrong, in the strength of right; for so far as a government is in the wrong it will break down, and so far as its opponents are right they will prevail.

But even in the midst of social philosophy the Jew is a lover of order. Johann Most is not a Jew; but if he were, and if all his followers were Jews, they are altogether so few that it would be injustice to condemn the thousands of conservative, law-abiding Jews because of these. We have heard of only one Jew who belongs to this outcast section of society. None were prominent in the leadership of the Paris commune during the dreadful days of 1871, and none stood on the scaffold with the anarchists in Chicago. In Russia, where any man who dares protest against governmental crimes is called a nihilist, it is quite likely that Jews are numbered among them; yet who would not rather be one of those "nihilists" whom Kennan visited in furthest Siberia, the possessor of manhood and love for fellow-men, than the despotic author of their sufferings in his winter palace? It is worthy to note, however, that the founder of the nihilist school of thinkers was Michael Bakunin, of the high Russian aristocracy, who, by reason of his extreme views, was expelled by the party of Karl Marx from the International Society at its congress at The Hague in 1872. Even among socialists—we cannot forbear the repetition—the Jew is representative of law.

The limits of this paper prevent a review of all the alleged causes of the antisemitic feeling in America. We believe it to be an inheritance, begotten in distant ages and for reasons which do not here exist. It has been so inwrought into the selfishness of national politics and the cruelty of church theologies as to acquire an age-defying strength, transmitting a deadly hatred from generation to generation. If at times it disappears in any measure, like the disease of an ancestor which overleaps a generation or two, it is sure to return and poison a later age. The latent evil is awakened by the most trivial occa-

sions. The reciprocal principle of exclusiveness between Jew and Gentile, now already continued as a living force for many centuries, combined as it often is with an irritating intrusiveness on the part of some Jews who have acquired a degree of wealth without a corresponding degree of education and social refinement, has depopulated many a fashionable hotel and ruined the social tone of many an elegant avenue. And this purely personal and social irritant has been enough to rouse the ancient and slumbering antagonism. Such is the atavism of prejudice. When such trifles can produce such results, how portentous must be the consequences of the fiercer antisemitic discussions now waging in Europe! Unless suppressed by an intelligent Christian conscience the morbid sentiment will stain American liberty with mediæval intolerance; and there will be another chapter to write on Israel's sufferings.

But by the will of God there is a divine future, foretold by prophets, for these wanderers of the weary centuries. It is a future for which they have never despaired and which they believe is even now dawning. We believe that the Christianity of America will hail its coming, seek to cast off the sins of the fathers which have blighted the growth of souls, and "put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him: where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all, and in all."

A. H. Tuttle.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

By a blunder in the press-room an imperfect table of contents for the volume of 1893 was appended to the November-December number of the *Review*. All subscribers who desire to bind the volume for the year will be furnished, on application to the publishers, with a correct table of contents to preface the bound volume.

SEVERAL changes in the typography and general arrangement of the *Review* will be noticed in this number. We hope they may commend themselves to our readers as improvements. The scope of the *Review* is widened, and we trust its value increased, by the introduction of two new departments, one of which will report whatever is most significant in the progress of Christian missions, and the other the discoveries and developments in the intensely interesting, as well as vastly important, fields of archæology and biblical research.

THE following item of discovery in Egyptology was presented in a paper before the London Society of Biblical Archæology by the Rev. Camden M. Cobern, Ph.D., Pastor of First Methodist Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan; and its value may be judged by the fact that it was reprinted by that society from the report of its proceedings by its own option in June, 1893. It shows that the Egyptians in ancestor worship avoided the use of the most sacred posture, reserving it for the worship of their deities. Its significance lies in its "important bearing upon Mr. Spencer's theory of primitive ancestor worship."

The writer, a few winters ago, while in the Ghizeh Museum, made the observation that the typically sacred posture of the uplifted empty hands, which was used in innumerable instances where men appeared before the divinities, was carefully avoided in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and very rarely used in the New Kingdom, when they appeared before their ancestors. This observation was afterward confirmed by a visit to the British Museum and the Louvre, and by an examination of the plates of Rosellini, Lepsius, etc. That this posture was a peculiarly sacred one is proved by its use from the very earliest times in the hieroglyphic "to worship." Thus also the gods adored the supreme divinity:

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"Hail to thee, Râ! . . . thy mother Nut presents her hands to thee in the act of homage." (Ani Papyrus, Plate I.) This attitude is of all others the most common one taken by the worshiper when he enters the presence of his god; yet almost universally is it avoided when the relatives gather to reverence their ancestors.

It cannot be denied that there are a few exceptions to the general practice, but in almost every case the exception proves the rule. Hute and Kheti do stand in the sacred posture before Usertesen and Mes-en-hotep, who are figured as little creatures standing on top of the table of offerings; but the inscription is one distinctly addressed to Osiris and Anubis. (Louvre C. 19.) Another significant exception is that of Khent-Khat-ur, who stands before his ancestors in this sacred posture, but stands with his face turned from them and his hands uplifted toward the unseen. (Plate 109, Eg. Inscripta., British Museum, London, 1837.) There can be no doubt that this habit was too universal to allow the possibility of its being accidental. That there was one special attitude saved for the deity proves how greatly elevated were the gods above the deceased, and would seem to have some bearing upon the theory of the origin and meaning of ancestor worship which is now generally accepted by non-Christian philosophers.

This theory, invented by Herbert Spencer, is that all religion is an evolution from man's fear of ghosts. Through dreams, etc., the original savage caught the idea that he possessed a double self, which could wander away from the body and return to it again. The resemblance between death and sleep was such that this primeval savage began to suspect presently that the dead man's second self might be near the body, ready to avenge any insult paid to it. This fear of ghosts gradually led to offerings of food and drink and to praises of the dead or petitions that the spirit of the departed would not harm the living. From this to ancestor worship was only a short step. But, as the spirits of dead men were thought of as taking possession of birds, animals, and trees or flying to the stars, in course of millenniums polytheism with all its various forms of worship arose, and finally, after many centuries of philosophizing, monotheism. The bearing of Dr. Coburn's discovery upon such a theory is plain; for if there was one posture, and that the most sacred of all, which was invariably reserved for the worship of the gods and never used before the ancestors, it would indicate that a radical distinction was made by the ancient Egyptians between deity worship and ancestor reverence. Thus in the oldest worship known to man a relation exists between ancestor worship and god worship the exact opposite of that which would seem to be required by the evolutionist theory.

Is it possible to give a good education to our sons without sending them to the institution having the best record in boating,

in baseball, or football? Is it a proof of deficient paternal affection to send our sons to colleges devoted to and excelling in certain literary and scientific studies? These questions are not asked altogether in a sarcastic vein. The athletic demand has risen to so high a pitch that we really need to estimate its claims. If they are to be conceded without deduction, then a good father will inquire into the athletic record and prospects of the college asking his patronage. If the record is good and the present "team" a promising one a good father will not ask any foolish questions about the other and minor parts of the college. This may seem to some of the older brethren a mystery—possibly a mystery of iniquity. But they and we belong to a past which did not know the value of a football college course; and we must try to understand the lads who are treading on our heels. They value the college for its athletics—at least many of them do—and they are our successors in American citizenship. We must reject the claims they make, and give our reasons: (1) There is no sufficient proof that the battles which these games have become are ministrant to physical perfection; there is much proof of the contrary. Good physical development must be attained by more sober and more regular and constant exercise. Physical contests are not the best, they are probably the worst, method of bodily culture. (2) The American people will be too far gone in decadence for any hope of salvation when they come to prefer a physical contest to an intellectual one. Roosters and wild bulls will furnish necessary "sport," and if men must be used the Sullivans will always be numerous enough to meet the demand. The coarse tastes to which a combat ministers will, if they master us, require something more brutal than a set-to of college boys; but we believe that the nobler instincts of the people will survive and that the better mind of the rational public will retain its preference for intellectual superiorities. (3) The immoral environment of the conspicuous physical contests of college boys has become so clearly visible, so obtrusively active and destructive, that it cannot be ignored any longer. Athletic barbarity and gambling—and worse things—thrust themselves into our faces and force us to approve or condemn. Keep the athletic exercise; let our lads play and wrestle, under limits of safety; but abolish the battlefield. The prudent and affectionate father will keep his son as far as possible from a college having a high athletic record. That record has cost blood—and character; and it is a menace, not a promise.

SECTIONAL CONTROVERSIES.

THE danger of sectional antagonism has come up for discussion in connection with the silver purchase debates in the press and in Congress. Some ill-advised persons went so far as to suggest a sort of commercial divorce of the West from the East. The proposed convention to consider the matter will not meet. The good sense of the people promptly rebuked the begetters of the scheme. We are still too near the civil conflict for any sectional movement to gain much favor; it is certain that the majority of the people of any State would reject any such plan. Still, the danger is thought of and sometimes spoken of as one of the disagreeable possibilities, if not probabilities, of the not very distant future. The matter is therefore worthy of some consideration.

It must be assumed at the outset that in our country antagonisms in the interests of different sections is the only possible cause of sectionalism. Differences of race do not exist in a sectional sense; nor do differences of religion. These are usually the two chief causes of sectional feeling within a nation. The sectional conflict which ended in the civil war was a very peculiar one; and such a one can never again arise. The conscience of the North after the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law created "an irrepressible conflict." Slavery was undoubtedly a question of interest at the South; but it was not such at the North. If it could have been reduced to a matter of dollars and cents there would have been no attempt to secede. Questions of sectional interest can be compromised; doubtless many such will be compromised in the next half century. Something of this nature may be found in the legislation of every Congress. Fiscal measures and appropriations are, in minor details, modified by the diverse interests of the several large sections of the Union; and the anti-Chinese legislation has been from the first a concession by the rest of the nation to the Pacific slope, not without some conscientious scruples not yet silenced or satisfied.

Are there likely to be opposed and irreconcilable sectional interests? Do such antagonisms now exist? Apparent or professed antagonisms there are; but are they real and uncompromising? We think them to be rather sentimental and temporary than real and permanent. The silver question stands now just where the protection question stood for half a century. The South opposed protection, just as the West, or a part of it, opposes a gold stand-

ard. But no one now seriously considers the tariff a sectional issue; the difficulty has been completely overcome, and no kind of a tariff will arouse sectional animosity. The silver question is a more temporary matter than the tariff. There are possible events which might swiftly settle all disputes. And there are possible settlements of the controversy which would remove the subject from the field of discussion; for example, an international agreement adjusting the two money metals to each other. Opposition of interests between creditor States and debtor States furnishes matter for considerable newspaper comment and epithet. The "money shark" is an ugly creature supposed to be an eater of Western men. "There be land sharks and there be water sharks." No section can ever have a monopoly of bad men, of grasping and cruel men. Some Eastern people of small means think they have reason to regret their relations to "sharks" of the far West; and honest farmers of the prairies have unpleasant emotions when they think of a "shark" supposed by them to swim in "Wall Street"—a term very confusingly employed in sectional literature. But all these are relations of individuals, and not of great sections of our common country. Nor is there anything new in this experience. There has long been a lending East and a borrowing West; nor is there now any dangerous acuteness in these relations.

Doubtless there are people who think there is a real antagonism in creditor and debtor sections of the nation. But in this case thinking does not make it so. If the antagonism were necessarily a menace to peace every town in the land would be a scene of conflict, for every village has creditors and debtors. There is certainly a considerable difference of opinion about silver, and in a measure this difference is sectional. But the difference is one about facts, and there is a strong presumption that the facts will be so well known on both sides long before any conflict arises that a settlement satisfactory to all reasonable persons will be made. They are few in any section who desire to pay less than they borrowed or to receive more than they lent. Most borrowers and lenders are honest people. The question of silver may not be settled for some years. It is a very novel one, and it has come to us through an extraordinary and sudden increase in the supply of silver and an equally strange and sudden decrease of the demand for it. It would be strange if such an experience did not very seriously disturb currencies and perplex politics. But there is every reason to believe that the wisdom of the commercial nations will solve this problem in an equitable

way. There is no excuse for the belief that it will set great sections of the United States by the ears. There is a common interest and a sturdy belief in a sound and stable money. The honest people are a large majority, and they are evenly distributed over the whole Union. Pending a settlement of this serious question patriotic men of all sections will have need of a more praiseworthy temper and a larger measure of reasonableness than the demagogues and sensational newspapers ordinarily display. But in no possible contingency could the controversy have enough explosive power to rend the Union.

It must not be forgotten that the Union is a common blessing, and that to keep this good our citizens are sure to make some necessary sacrifices. Sections at outs in feeling will bear with each other for the sake of the Union. Let a difference become grave, and immediately patriotism will revive in force and heal the breach. A sudden and fatal madness lighting the conflagration of a civil war is not among the possibilities in an intelligent country bound up in one by so many common interests. The tendencies which attract most attention are not toward conflicting interests. Manufactures are moving West and South. No large region—large enough to revolt—can have more than temporarily its peculiar pursuits to the exclusion of those followed by other regions. Railways and trade bind us together more and more closely; we know each other better across the whole continent. Interminglings of every social description tend to make us more united and to arrest the growth of sectional sentiment and politics. Before we can forget the awful years of our one civil war we shall be a much more compact, homogeneous, and fraternal people than we were in 1861. Common laws, common recollections, common speech, and common religion will unite with the common elements of our social life to make the Union indissoluble. Hot controversies, yes. Disunionism, no.

SCIENCE, RELIGION, AND LIFE.

THAT is a dangerous period in the history of thought when investigation is beginning to reveal new facts in any department of physical inquiry. Such discoveries are usually the result of some one particular line of investigation, and bear a strong generic resemblance to each other; and they appear, therefore, to point in the same direction and to the same conclusions. They come slowly, too, with perhaps long intervals between them and with an air of

finality about them, so that any deductions based upon them seem to be enduring and unchangeable. Theories are adopted often destructive of the old systems of thought and opposed to all the formulas of logic. Assumptions are made often unwarranted by any facts yet known to science. In the haste to arrive at the very secret of mysteries which have ever baffled explanation, desire outstrips achievement, and logical chasms are left unbridged and still unfathomable. Missing links in the chain of reasoning, it is claimed, will be supplied by the next new discoveries. It is assumed, without proof, that whatever new facts remain to be yet revealed by science will eventually only strengthen and support theories which have been hastily constructed and so far imperfectly furnished. Thus elated by new knowledge, partial though it be, the ultra apostles of science demean themselves with haughty contempt or worse indifference toward the old truths of revealed religion; and religion itself accepts the defensive, its disciples, overwhelmed with the clamor of empirical science and rash philosophy, assuming an apologetic air which ill becomes their professed faith in the God of the Bible and the Christ of the New Testament.

It is embarrassing, however, when the missing facts obdurately remain undiscovered, or when new facts are brought to light which overthrow the theories so loudly and triumphantly proclaimed. Then logic begins to assert its supremacy. Then science becomes modest, recognizes its limitations, and confines itself for the time to the strict region of fact. Then believers in the Christian religion regain their courage, and revelation reappears as unchangeable as ever. It is such a period of reaction against the overconfidence of science which seems to be about to dawn with the dawning of the coming century.

It is well, therefore, to glance anew at certain radical differences between science and religion. They occupy entirely separate planes. The sole business of physical science is to deal with facts which can be perceived and tested by the senses. The sphere of religion comprises mental, moral, and spiritual conditions which are above the apprehension of the senses, but which constitute the most important elements of human happiness or misery. Both exemplify God's power and embody the results of his will. Hence they cannot contradict one another or be mutually discordant or repellent; yet any attempt to "reconcile" the two, in the ordinary meaning of the term, must terminate in failure. That God should have enforced certain methods in the material

world does not interfere with the truth that he enacted other and different and higher laws in the moral and spiritual realms. Science and revelation are not coincident or coextensive; they cannot clash or intercept one another; they are complements each of the other, and products of the same divine mind, working in different channels, it is true, though to the same distant and ultimate end. Neither can be explained by the other; yet both are essential to the supreme purposes of God.

Science has not so far discovered any fact which fails to fit into the system of revelation. She has, indeed, compelled new revisions of traditional interpretations of a few scriptural texts; yet the fault is seen to have inhered in the old interpretation and not in the original message. Nor has she attained one whit nearer to the solution of any of the mysteries of existence. In the discussion of all organic data, for instance, she must begin with an acknowledgment of the fact of life. She cannot explain why a seed of corn, lying dormant for years, should retain its latent life, and then, by being planted in the earth, become capable of producing not simply one but many multiplications of itself. Nor can the cause or the method of either the origin or the reproduction of human life be discovered or accounted for by any experiments or investigation which science may institute. When, deserting her own province and invading that of philosophy, she attempts to force her way to the citadel of life she loses herself in dark and unknown regions, and either travels in an unending circle to arrive again and again at the point of departure; or else, after a mighty battle of unwieldy and unmanageable words, resulting in much smoke and obscurity, she retreats at length, baffled and defeated, to her own peculiar territory.

Revelation, on the contrary, starts with the only conceivable and consistent explanation of the cause of all the varied phenomena of the universe—the existence of a personal, intelligent, and all-powerful Creator. It does not, indeed, present all the steps in the methods of creation. The full understanding of the age-long and world-wide designs of God will be occupation for eternity, and the continual wonder and admiration produced by our ever-fresh advances in the knowledge of his works will be the spontaneous and unceasing incentive to the praise which we shall ever offer him. It is enough that he has revealed himself as the one sufficient and only possible explanation of all things; that he has taught us, not only by example and precept, but by the actual evil results of transgression, the path he has intended

for us; that he has revealed not all the minute details, but the simple and essential statement, of his design in our creation, the only statement of design which satisfies the apparent inconsistencies and wrongs of human existence; that he has given us, by his promises of future happiness, every motive to comply with the conditions he has marked out as best serving his far-reaching purposes.

Philosophy, in its endeavor to explain the origin and end of human life, is a confessed failure—self-confessed in its continual readoption and rejection of worn-out hypotheses. Science, confining itself modestly and consistently to its own sphere, has nothing whatever to do with these questions. Scientists and inventors, utilizing the discoveries of their predecessors and avoiding their errors, may make visible progress from generation to generation. No such advancement is possible in the essential traits of human nature. Men start in all ages and the world over from the same level of undeveloped infancy and pass through the same gamut of experience from childhood to age, leaving their successors to repeat, with individual variations but essential uniformity, the same story of human existence; and religion, ordained in revelation and designed by the Author of human nature to meet its needs and fulfill its destiny, far from being superseded by the improved conditions of civilization, remains the only rational explanation of human life, the only remedy for human wrongs, and the only hope of the race both now and hereafter.

FANTASTIC REFORM.

IN November last a somewhat fantastic English reformer visited Chicago and held a public meeting to organize a movement "to drive the devil out of that city." He invited the virtuous classes and the vicious classes, the miserable and the affluent, to meet and confer with him and set on foot this great movement. A crowd assembled, but the professionally vicious classes did not come. The talking part of the assembly came from the ranks of the labor reformers, socialistic reformers, and those advanced people commonly called cranks. The listeners embraced many curious folk and a few of the persons who are actually engaged in fighting the devil as pastors or working members of churches. The talk had nothing new in it, except that it was a mixture of several varieties of fantastic reform. A committee

was duly appointed to arrange a plan of campaign, and there the movement, as is common in such matters, ended. The English reformer got a page or two in the newspapers the next day and started for home, leaving the devil in Chicago. The reformers who are not sensational and who have fought the prince of darkness on that field year in and year out remained at their posts and continued their fighting through their church work, their schools, their charities, and their courts. They could have welcomed a leader capable of more effective and more rapid work; but the leader did not lead, and they are, in Lincoln's phrase, "pegging away" in the old ways.

In the course of this fantastic meeting, when the customary attention was being paid by some socialist to the richer people, a young man in the gallery suggested that "men became rich by economical habits and by keeping out of the saloons." This hint was coldly received by the audience, and the English reformer filled up a painful pause by sarcastically replying, "We thank you for your copy-book truisms." The sarcasm was well received by the assembly; but in cold type it loses some of its sting. In fact, it discloses a state of mind, a state of feeling toward copy-book truisms—in other terms, plain morals—which deserve serious attention. The impatience of fantastic reformers with plain moral truth, their want of faith in the power of religious education, their strange conviction that the Churches are doing nothing, their despairing calls for some effective help, their belief that the vicious classes are rather better than other people, their rejection of temperance and missionary relief measures—all these singular notions and beliefs are furnished with a battle-cry in the words "copy-book truisms." The number of persons in this singular mental condition is perhaps not very great, but they make more noise and get more attention from the press than all the real reformers in the country.

For the real reformers are at work putting copy-book truisms into the mind and into the life of the people. A great army of mothers, teachers, preachers spend their lives in this great work, and their success is known of all candid persons. They teach, train, enlighten, and save multitudes, while the fantastic reformers are making speeches and appointing committees. They produce character, while the fantastic people are producing discontent. We do not wish to discredit the complaints of the poor; but a suggestive thing happened in Chicago that same November. For many months a "Helping Hand" society had existed there, and

it chose that particular time for falling to pieces. The active agent of this society, a man with years of experience among "people out of employment," expressed the opinion that there were not twenty men in the city who could not get work when they wanted work. The "Helping Hand" found itself doling out alms to idle and characterless persons, and that was not its mission. It desired to assist honest poor in finding employment; and such people did not come to it for aid. We hesitate to accept the conclusion; but it is certain that much of the complaining comes from persons out at elbows in character rather than in opportunity to obtain an honest living.

The real reformers have a mighty task; but their copy-book truisms bring salvation, and nothing else ever brought it to a human life. The failure of the flighty fantastic people appears the more strikingly when they flout truisms. The person who held this meeting in Chicago declared that the temperance people were a great obstacle to reform; the true way would be to get good saloons to suppress the bad saloons. Another speaker eulogized the beer-drinking habit as a particularly anti-Satanic influence. It was a congress convened to set up a new theory of virtue, or rather to raise vice to the rank of a virtue; and the English reformer seemed to think that Jesus Christ, when he went among the fallen, elevated their vices to social dignity. The tendency to disparage Christian reformation has gained some ground in these years; it comes to its apotheosis in such an assembly as the one here described. It is a helpless, hopeless, and ignorant movement away from plain morals, away from the truths that character is essential to the success of the poor and degraded and that we must lift them into heroic abstinence from such things as saloons into heroic self-help, or fail to lift them at all. If we cannot get the leverage of character under them they must fall into the ditch of degraded poverty; and if we do get that leverage under them we shall lift them, even out of the deepest abysses of degradation.

THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY.

THERE are those who would have us believe that humanity has made no progress; that, on the contrary, from an indefinite period, perhaps from the very beginning, it has been steadily, if not rapidly, degenerating. It might seem that such a theory was so wild and irrational, so flatly contradicted by plainest facts, as not

to deserve sober treatment or respectful consideration. But when we perceive that distinguished men in all ages of the world have been occasionally given to chanting these funeral dirges, and that the average observer who looks out at the time and place immediately around him is easily misled as to the trend of things, we are convinced that there is abundant call for clear and frequent statements concerning this matter. The very fact that every age has considered itself so extremely bad is a strong proof that the trouble is largely in the eyes of the observers and that their pictures are faulty through disregard of the laws of perspective. Let a few quotations stand in place of many.

Seneca, in the first century, writes:

Vice no longer hides itself; it stalks forth before all eyes. So public has abandoned wickedness become, and so openly does it flame up in the minds of all, that innocence is no longer rare; it has wholly ceased to exist.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage in the third century, thus describes his time:

The public ways are obstructed by robbers, the seas are infested with pirates, the world is reeking with mutual bloodshed. Law has made a compact with crime, and guilt has become legal. What sense of shame, what probity, can exist where bad men have none to condemn them and where none are found but ought to be condemned?

In the fourth century Eusebius says:

Hypocrisy and dissimulation have arisen to the greatest height of malignity. All things have gone to wreck by the factious willfulness and avarice of the bishops.

Chrysostom says, with reference to the Church:

Our assemblies differ in nothing from a drinking shop, so loud is the laughter, so great is the disturbance. Nay, the church is like a market place, even a stage or theater. For the women who assemble there adorn themselves more wantonly than the unchaste who are found in the theater; so that on that account profligate men come to church. All things are now corrupted and lost. All are rampant and refractory as herds of wild horses. Everything is filled with their abounding corruptions.

In the tenth century a distinguished writer says:

The clergy everywhere are composed principally of men who are illiterate, stupid, ignorant of everything pertaining to religion, dissolute, superstitious, and flagitious. Nothing can be conceived of so filthy, so criminal, or so wicked as to be deemed by the supreme bishops of the Church incompatible with their characters; nor was any government ever so loaded with vices of every kind. They made traffic of everything sacred. Everywhere were seen the profligate morals of the clergy and the monks. Their history is a history of atrocious villainies and crimes.

In the seventeenth century it is written of England :

The best men are driven out of the Church. The doctrines of the Gospel are no longer heard in the vast majority of pulpits. The immoralities of the court are shocking.

Dr. South says :

Blasphemy, irreligion, and debauchery were the prime characteristics of all men of wit and fashion. Their ambition was to reach daring heights in sin.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, a little before, in 1596, says :

There is a universal coldness and decay of zeal in all men; ignorance and contempt of the word, ministry, and sacraments, superstition, and idolatry abound. There is universal neglect of justice in civil and criminal causes; the worst men are advanced to office, and bribery prevails in the court.

Declarations of a similarly doleful sort concerning the condition of England in the eighteenth century, before the Wesleyan reformation, might be given in large numbers; also concerning the state of things this side the sea, in every single period from the beginning of the settlements. One specimen will do as well as a multitude. It is from the pen of Jonathan Edwards, in 1735:

The world has got to such a terrible state of wickedness that it is probable the cry of it has reached unto heaven, and it is hardly probable God will allow things to go on as they now are much longer. It is probable that God will appear ere long in awful majesty to vindicate his own cause.

And so the speedy dissolution of all things because of outrageous iniquity and inconceivable corruption has been perpetually prophesied all down the years. Every generation, or at least some portion of it, has firmly believed it was worse than the last. But it needs no great amount of reflection, and only a small acquaintance with history, to show that this is not possible. Those who delivered themselves of these jeremiads were doubtless sincere, but they were sadly mistaken. They got into the way of looking exclusively on the dark side. They overemphasized the evil in their laudable desire to arouse men to combat it. Their habit of thought was partisan, not judicial. Their conclusions were not reached from any impartial weighing of one period over against another or from any sufficiently careful examination of all the facts. More excuse can be made for their errors than for similar blunders by men of to-day, who have so much better opportunities of knowledge and who ought to have imbibed something of the scientific spirit of the times.

There is absolutely no reason now why anyone should doubt that

the world is growing better, or, in other words, that the physical, moral, and spiritual condition of humanity is improving. This earth is a much pleasanter place to live in to-day than ever it was before. The sum total of human happiness and human goodness is much larger at present than at any previous period in the world's history. A few reasons for this faith, which has become firmly established in us, we now propose to give.

THE INCREASING POPULATIONS.

The fact that the inhabitants of the earth are multiplying so rapidly in these later years is one of deep significance. According to the best available authorities the population of Europe did not materially increase from the days of Julius Caesar to the Reformation, a period of over fifteen hundred years. It was just about one hundred millions at both times, at the beginning and end of that long interval. In the next three hundred years, from 1500 to 1800, the population had increased fifty per cent, so that the total was about one hundred and fifty millions. But during the present century it has increased one hundred and forty per cent, so that the total is now three hundred and sixty millions. In fifteen hundred years no gain, then in three hundred years a gain of fifty millions, and then in less than a hundred years a gain of two hundred and ten millions. In each of the three centuries before the present a gain of sixteen per cent, and then in this century a gain of one hundred and forty per cent. What does all this mean? What is the story that is behind these figures? What were the causes which kept the population stationary for fifteen hundred years and then gave it such a very slow growth for three centuries more? Constant wars, famines, and pestilences. These are words easy to pronounce or write, but the depth of wretchedness and degradation they indicate cannot be at all conceived. To have war, famine, pestilence, one or both, or all three, most of the time—life under such circumstances is almost unmitigated misery. The struggle for mere existence is so terribly severe that only the very strongest of the population survive, and the deaths are so many that the births only just manage to make good the perpetual drain.

It must be evident on slight consideration that one of the very best measures of the comparative peace, virtue, happiness, and prosperity of a people is afforded by the figures of the population. They prove in this case that Europe during the Middle Ages, before Christianity in its purity had got control of the life

of the people, was a pretty bad place to live in; that after the Reformation had cleared the air, breaking the bonds of thought, liberating the human mind, and unshackling the Bible, a great advance was speedily seen; and that during the past century, when, as never before, freedom and truth have come to the front and the Protestant nations have taken the lead, the hardships of life have been so immensely ameliorated that the statistics have moved forward with gigantic leaps and bounds.

The population of India, so far as can be ascertained, was about the same hundreds and indeed thousands of years ago as it was when the British took possession of it in the last century. The numbers were kept stationary by famine, pestilence, and war, and were not far from one hundred and fifty millions. But now, under the Christian government of Great Britain, which has maintained peace, prevented or alleviated famine, taught sanitation, and developed in every way the resources of the land, the population is very nearly three hundred millions, doubling in a century and a quarter.

England in the year 1100, or at the time of the Norman conquest, had about two million people. After five centuries, at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, it had four millions. After two centuries more, in 1800, it had about nine millions; while now, in ninety years, the population has leaped from nine millions to thirty. The increase has been two hundred and thirty-three per cent in ninety years, and that in spite of the immense emigration, against less than seventy per cent for the previous century. This one fact speaks whole volumes in testimony of increased safety against disease, better food and shelter, improved education, less exhausting labor, and easier, happier, more virtuous conditions of life in general.

Another fact of precisely the same sort is found in the increased duration of human life. It used to be set at thirty-three years, which was called a generation. It is longer now, in this country, at least, and in most of the countries of Europe. It has gone up above forty. That means greater thrift, greater temperance, better parental care, improved sanitary conditions, less of squalid poverty, less of sensual luxury. Vice is always unfriendly to life and longevity; virtue produces them. Therefore a lower annual death rate and an increased prolongation of life testify loudly that we are decidedly on the up grade as a people, and not on the down grade, as so many of our pessimists would have us believe.

THE FORWARD MARCH OF MIND.

Many evidences show what may be called the forward march of mind, the ever-increasing supremacy of mind over matter, the advancing victories of human intellect and intelligence. And this march may fairly be summoned as a witness to prove that the race is on the up grade. Consider the marvelous progress that has been made in the arts and sciences, the stupendous gains of invention and discovery, the magic and miracle of mechanical improvement which has characterized this century, especially its latter half. Who can really doubt that the world is a better place to live in now than it was when our grandfathers or great-grandfathers were young? Seventy-five years ago there were no steam railways. The first telegraph line in America, from Washington to Baltimore, was set up less than fifty years ago. The telephone is less than twenty-five years old. Think of the marvelous developments of steam in this half century. The steam power in the world to-day is four times as great as all the hand power, and twice as great as all the horse power. In other words, the working energy of the most civilized lands, the ability to exert strength for the accomplishment of desired results, has been a good deal more than doubled by the application of steam. And now steam is almost going out of date, so fast is it giving place to electricity, so rapidly are we learning to harness the lightning to our chariots and make it toil at our tasks and light our dwellings as well as carry our messages. Think of the triumphs of our ocean racers running more than five hundred miles a day, of our fast express trains making very nearly a mile a minute hour after hour, and compare this with the slow-sailing packets and rude, lumbering wagons of our grandfathers. We have almost destroyed distance, and nations have been brought into closest neighborhood, which tends beyond doubt to increase their harmony and mutual helpfulness. A simple catalogue of the things which even in our own time, so swift is the forward movement, have wonderfully added to the convenience and comfort of life would be too long for insertion here. But among other things may be mentioned street railways, photographs, phonographs, typewriters, sewing machines, elevators, ocean cables, the cheap postal system, anæsthetics, and the other improvements in medicine and surgery. If we were to take in a longer period the contrast would, of course, be still more startling. The wealthiest monarchs a century or two

ago could not with all their power procure for their palaces some of the simple things, like matches, for example, which no person and no hut, however humble, is to-day without.

All this plainly shows that the condition of humanity is steadily improving, not only physically, but mentally and morally. It may be said that the matters mentioned pertain only to material things. But surely man expresses himself in his works. Great achievements indicate a high type of manhood. In the governments men found, in the books they write, in the appliances they invent, in the obstacles they overcome, in the discoveries they make, in the enterprises they inaugurate, they disclose the quality of their power and the height of their advancement. Man is a more royal being than he used to be, more divine, with more of the Creator in him, more fully measuring up to the ideal which he was designed to fill when God gave him dominion over this mundane sphere and set him as the representative of Deity here below. Every victory of the higher part of man over the lower really elevates the race and shows it to be on the right path. We have every reason to rejoice at the growth of popular intelligence in recent years, the far greater diffusion of knowledge, the multiplication of schools of every kind, the better methods of teaching, and the larger numbers of the common people in many lands brought within the circle of education with all its manifest advantages. We may well thank God that labor also has been greatly exalted, that industry has more and more come to be recognized as indispensable to respectability, that work, instead of idleness or war, is coming to the place of highest honor as the foundation of society and the bulwark of the State. These, and many other similar signs of the times, are surely full of encouragement and give no countenance to the pessimist.

MARKS OF MORAL PROGRESS.

Leaving the tokens of physical, social, industrial advance, all of which things have close connection with morals, and yet are somewhat different, let us come still nearer to the heart of the theme and touch on things which have a yet more intimate relation to the happiness and true prosperity of humanity, which prosperity we claim is increasing, not diminishing.

For one thing, note the overthrow of slavery and the slave trade. Probably nothing has produced so much misery in the world and so much moral corruption as this, which Wesley fitly called "the sum of all villainies." The most glaring injustice,

the darkest ignorance, the grossest licentiousness, the wickedest waste of life were clearly included in it. Outrages of every sort and atrocities of every kind perpetually abounded. It was brutalizing to both black and white, bloody, barbarous, beastly beyond description. But at the beginning of this present century slavery existed through nearly all the world. Most of the peasantry of Europe were either actual slaves or, the next thing to it, serfs in the lowest condition. During the first seven years of this century English ships conveyed annually over the Atlantic forty thousand Africans, one half of whom, because of the terrible treatment, perished at sea or soon after landing. This century has seen the total cessation of the Atlantic slave trade, the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, the freeing of the serfs in Russia and other European countries, and emancipation in the United States and in Brazil. The addition to the sum of human happiness caused by this one item is absolutely inconceivable. Out of night into day, out of death into life, out of despair into hope, out of chattelization into humanization scores and scores of millions have been gloriously lifted. Nor is this all. Africa itself, the one remaining plague spot, has been taken hold of in right earnest for good by all the nations of Europe. Thanks to Livingstone, and Stanley, and Lavigerie, and many others of lesser fame, the slave trade, even in Africa, is surely doomed. Before many years there will be no such thing as slavery anywhere on the earth. A final end will be put to this climax of horrors that for scores of centuries has cursed mankind. This alone would be enough to prove beyond peradventure the upward movement; this alone must vastly change for the better the balance between human joy and human sorrow, between morality and immorality.

War has been another terrific scourge of mankind. We do not yet see it fully abolished; but we shall. Already it has been marvelously ameliorated. Wars are but pastimes now compared with what they once were. In the olden days kings fought when they pleased, and they were almost always fighting. The people had no voice; they were looked upon as only food for powder, unfit to be considered. Single wars hung on sometimes for thirty years, with little or no cessation. Neutrals had no rights, non-combatants were not spared, the armies lived on the country; pillage, outrage, robbery, rape, and murder were going on all the time. It was a veritable hell upon earth. Things are very different now. Diplomacy in most cases takes the place of bru-

tality. Arbitration four times out of five is found sufficient to settle disputes that once would have brought on devastating campaigns. The public sentiment of Christendom is powerful, and frowns upon bloodshed unless in cases of extreme necessity. Wars have become so expensive that very few nations can afford them. Thrones are so insecure and the people have so much strength that it is no longer possible for kings to follow their whims in this matter. And when war comes it is simply a duel between two great armies, often settled in a single contest or ended in a few weeks of maneuvering. The great Christian and commercial nations, whose interests are bound up in keeping the peace, more and more are getting into their hands the numerical and financial and martial power of the world; and this tends mightily to prevent war. It seems clear that before long the industrial rivalry of America will compel the disarmament of Europe, since the nations there cannot with their crushing military burdens compete with us in the markets of the world. Then shall we see a United States of Europe, where all the great questions that now breed bad blood will be settled in some representative assembly. Then will the war drums throb no longer and the battle flags be furled in the "parliament of man, the federation of the world." The progress seen in this one item of war has been quite enough to make the earth a far happier and better place to live in than it ever was before.

Intemperance is an evil that still has enormous proportions, but it would be unjust not to recognize the many cheering tokens of improvement—the great change in public sentiment, the verdict of science against alcohol, the dissemination of knowledge in regard to the evils of strong drink, and the improved condition of the laws. One hundred years ago everybody drank. Clergymen and deacons, the best citizens and statesmen, were frequently the worse for liquor, and nothing was thought of it. To have a ministerial convention or a church gathering of any kind without a bountiful supply of all sorts of alcoholic beverages would have been considered altogether impossible. Dr. Leonard Woods, of Andover, who died in 1854, said, "I remember when I could reckon up among my acquaintance forty ministers who were intemperate." Another gentleman living in those times subsequently said in a Boston newspaper: "I have a list of one hundred and twenty-three intemperate deacons in Massachusetts, forty-three of whom became sots; a good many deacons in New England died drunkards." This is but one item which shows

what the moral condition of things was in our grandfathers' days—those good old times. And things were equally bad in regard to licentiousness. There certainly is a different feeling in the air now. Things that once were readily tolerated would now be severely frowned upon. Resolutions of public bodies such as were passed by the last General Conference, condemning in the strongest terms the slightest complicity with the liquor traffic by voice, vote, or influence, and declaring relentless warfare against the saloon and the license system, show that the tide of public opinion is magnificently higher than it once was and is steadily rising all the time. It has already achieved much in banishing the diabolical business from a large portion of the land, and is going straight on till it makes a clean sweep of the whole.

A similar advance has taken place in many other directions, for the proper recital of which no space can be taken. Prison reform has done marvels to improve the condition of the jail population. Only about a century ago English law recognized two hundred and twenty-three capital crimes. Hanging was the penalty for about everything, even the most trivial offenses. Off to the gallows men were sent by the hundreds for really nothing. The criminal laws of the most civilized countries were atrociously savage and were relentlessly administered, and the condition of the prisons was simply horrible. All that has been wholly changed. The rights of women have come to be recognized as never before, and the rights of children. How numerous almost beyond enumeration the philanthropic agencies of every kind that have been set in motion for the amelioration of all sorts of suffering—hospitals, asylums, infirmaries, dispensaries, institutions for the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the idiotic, the insane, homes for the aged and the orphan, societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals and cruelty to children! Most of these are of comparatively recent growth, and are being marvelously multiplied every day. Political and religious liberty of every kind is greatly growing. Reform is the watchword of the hour, and never in any age of the world did virtue and morality, purity and honesty, have so strong a hold on the people. No progress? What can people be thinking about who say this? Where are their eyes, and their ears, and their heads?

THE GAINS OF RELIGION.

Driven from point to point, some of the croakers make a last desperate stand here, asserting that whatever may be the mental

and moral progress there is not as much genuine religion as there used to be. But it is just in this direction that the real facts, properly considered, afford us the largest reason for praising God. It is because of the religious gains that there have been gains in the other matters mentioned. For religion is the most fundamental fact in all history, the main factor in every sort of wholesome growth. If it were to lose its grip on mankind or decline in influence vainly should we look for any advance in morals or any improvement in the physical, social, and industrial condition of mankind. Irreligion, infidelity, is utterly destructive of all that makes life best worth having, all that promotes the progress of the race. Infidelity is high treason against civilization. Hence all that has been said thus far goes clearly to show that true religion must be of necessity advancing. There are also many other facts and figures to prove it.

How glorious has been the advance of the Christian religion as compared with the imperfect and inferior faiths which it is steadily displacing. By the year 1500 there had come to be about one hundred millions of Christians in the world. By 1800 there were two hundred millions. But by 1900 there will be not far from five hundred millions, for there are almost that now. While it took eighteen centuries to get two hundred millions, it took only one century more for the number to leap to five hundred millions. It must be rather hard to find much ground for croaking in that fact. But still more startling are the figures when we come to look at the numbers under Christian governments. A century ago there were three hundred and forty millions under the sway of Christian rulers. Now there are eight hundred and forty millions, or about four sevenths of the population of the globe; and the other three sevenths cannot move hand or foot except as Christian powers permit. Is there not some cause for encouragement here? Practically all the foreign commerce of the world—and what that means anybody can see—is in Christian hands, and of the twenty-one million tons engaged in it seventeen and a quarter million tons belong to Protestant powers. Protestants have increased within the century threefold, while Roman Catholics have only doubled. And, still better, it is the English-speaking nations, those most energetically Christian, most progressively Protestant, that are advancing most rapidly of all. They have multiplied fivefold within the century, while the population of the world has only doubled. In another century they will be at least eight hundred millions strong, and will completely dominate the globe. In John

Wesley's day, one hundred and twenty-five years ago, only five parts in thirty of the world's population were Christians. To-day between nine or ten parts in thirty are Christians. A century ago Christians were only twenty per cent of the whole population, or as one to four compared with non-Christians. Now they are about thirty per cent, if not thirty-three, or about one to two.

If it is said that this is but an increase of nominal Christians we are ready with a still closer test. The communicants in the Protestant Churches of America through all the periods of our national history have been steadily gaining on the population. In 1800 there was one communicant for fourteen and one half inhabitants—a very small proportion. In 1850 there was one for every six and one half; in 1870 one for every five and a half; in 1880 one for every five; in 1890 there were over thirteen million communicants, or one for less than five. There has been a gain of ten million communicants in the evangelical Churches of this country since 1800—a gain without parallel in religious history. That does not look as if we were going behind very much. Tried by the severest test, in the teeth of the immense immigration with which we have had to contend, most of it hostile to evangelical Protestantism, we have still gained at a faster rate than has the population.

Another point. The Christian faith, besides spreading more and more widely over the world, was never so firmly rooted in the affections and convictions of men as now, never so pure in quality as well as large in quantity. How vast the improvement by the Reformation under Luther! How vast the improvement by the revival under Wesley! How signal has been the defeat since then of high Calvinism, that travesty of the Gospel which once so largely prevailed! There never was so simple, so reasonable, so sensible, so biblical a statement of Christian truth as that which now is commonly made. The spirit of inquiry and investigation now abroad in the land, which makes some people uneasy, is really one of the best signs of the times. Theology has certainly been improved. Medieval monstrosities have been shaken off. We are in far better condition to meet the attacks of infidelity than ever before. Those attacks have everywhere failed to make any important impression on the defenses of the faith. And infidelity has not a tithe of the power it had a hundred years ago. New churches are being built in this country alone at the rate of one and a half for every working hour every day the whole year through,

and the missionary movement has swept so boldly into prominence in the last fifty years that it seems practically like a new thing in the earth.

In view of all this and a dozen other things which there is no space to mention it is perfectly plain that our God is marching on. In view of it all are we not fully warranted in declaring that the pitiful wail to which we are sometimes treated, that the world is growing worse and the times are fearfully degenerate, is absolutely ridiculous, unworthy of serious thought?

The world is growing better, no matter what they say,
The light is shining brighter in one refulgent ray;
And though deceivers murmur and turn another way,
Yet still the world grows better and better every day.

The venerable "good old times," dear as they are in memory to many minds, were not even at their best as good as are these. It is true there are great evils in the world, and a very dark picture could be drawn by dealing exclusively with the misery and poverty and crime that are so plentifully to be found. But the point to be observed is that things were much worse in the past, and that not a very remote past, either. We have not yet reached the millennium, but there has certainly been great improvement. Anyone who says there has not must be set down as ignorant of history and of the world at large. He shows that he is not acquainted with anything but what he sees right around him or reads in the daily papers. He takes too short views, too limited and onesided views. He is not competent to form any judgment in the matter. We need not and must not follow these pessimistic thinkers, who have traduced and disfigured every age. We have a perfect right to the stimulus of life. Victory is in the air, not defeat. In spite of all obstacles and hindrances the world moves forward. It is sweeping out further and further into the dawn. The light is breaking, the morning cometh, the day is at hand. The golden age is not in the past, but in the future. The promised land is just ahead.

Though some hearts brood upon the past, our eyes
With smiling futures glisten;
Lo, now the dawn bursts up the skies,
Lean out your souls and listen.
The world rolls freedom's radiant way,
And ripens with our sorrow;
The bars of hell are strong to-day—
The Christ shall rise to-morrow.

THE ARENA.

EVOLUTION ON TRIAL.

Is it not time to call a halt? We have been making concessions, yielding point after point to the evolutionists, till we have found ourselves almost pushed from the outposts to the citadel of our faith, helping to fulfill the prophecy of Herbert Spencer, in his *Biology*, that the time would come when the supernatural would be "pushed out" altogether. Truly, that would be a dismal retreat, and for what? Atheistic evolution has been on trial for at least thirty years. What is the outcome? Virchow, from the advance posts of science, sends back the word, "The missing link not found." Perhaps he never heard of Professor Huxley's "horse" (?), a creature about the size of a wolf, with never a hoof yet evolved. We have been waiting for facts and have been met with fallacies—theories for truths, pretensions for proofs. What is the secret of such persistence? The purpose to push the Deity out of his universe. It is Hume's "No evidence can prove a miracle." It is Kant's dogged assertion that "no cause within nature can also give origin to nature." Professor Tyndall sees the nightmare of anthropomorphism even in the creation of Darwin's "primordial forms."

Here are some of the difficulties of Darwinian evolution: 1. A chance-made universe teeming with teleology and design—a contradiction, an absurdity. 2. "Life without previous life"—an unproved and improbable hypothesis. 3. Species developing into new species without any known connecting links. 4. Two negative principles, selection and adaptation, with all the potency of positive powers, producing a sentient world, the one by destroying, the other by changing what is already in existence. 5. Strata of fossiliferous rocks with definite boundary lines, separating species from species, but no forms *in transitu*. Where are all these half-developed creatures—the generations of bees and butterflies with only incipient wings, eagles with pinions powerless for flight, bulls without horns, elephants without tusks, apes without tails. 6. That inexorable law—"the survival of the fittest"—allowing monstrous creatures to live until they could be evolved into beings of permanent symmetry and beauty. 7. The enormous number of chances required to evolve a new organ in a series of generations, first its production, next its recurrence, then its growth—ten billions of chances for failure against one for success in only ten generations—as though printer's type, spilled out at random, should after billions of trials spell out an "Iliad" or a "Paradise Lost." 8. The clashing laws of heredity and variation, the first tending to permanence, the second to instability and a kind of fickle experimentation. 9. The vast extent of time required for the evolution of living creatures compared with the limited age of the living world—say fifty million years, Darwin's utmost estimate. Now, it has been shown that the coral insect has been building in exactly the same style for about two hundred thou-

sand years, with no evidence of any variation in form or habits of work in all that time. Only two hundred and fifty of such æons are required to exhaust the limits of successive life. How and when and where did evolution do its work. 10. Variations of type merging into stability and fixedness with no directing hand—unlike Darwin's variations among pigeons, which were forced and unnatural, even reverting to the original type, if left alone. 11. The formation of organs fitted only for a future use and for an untried element—as the eye, with all its humors and lenses, formed in the dark, yet fitted for the light—the human eye, mobile, wide-ranging, farseeing; the eye of the dragon-fly, with its twelve and a half thousand facets, suited for observation in rapid flight; the eye of the bird, large, keen, adaptable. Aimless evolution somehow stumbled upon these magnificent results! As Martineau suggests, "A microscope invented in a city of the blind could hardly surprise us more." 12. The adaptation of plants to animals, as that of the orchid, stored with honey to attract the moth, then scattering its pollen upon its visitor for the fertilization of other orchids. 13. The marvelous instincts of animals. 14. The mind of man, conscious of a free will and a sense of accountability, yet evolved from a monad or from the slime of the sea—freedom coupled with mechanism, consciousness of power springing from insensate matter, confusion worse confounded! 15. The contrast of nature, with its apparent aims and ends and multitudinous adaptations of means to results, with the works of man, the latter leading back to a conscious will, the former leading back to an unknowable something—or nothing.

Such is evolution in its widest and wildest sense; and we may venture to prophesy that future generations will be astonished at the credulity of their ancestors, who could gulp down such preposterous propositions while straining at the simple teachings of evangelical theism. We must fight this godless evolution and its abstract and undefinable ally, agnosticism, unto the death. They are the deadly foes of all living faith and spiritual life. Evolutionists knock madly at the doors of life and say, "Grant us only a beginning!" Ah! but that discloses the God of creation; and as no one believes in a dead Deity it is easy to believe in a living and loving God, holding not only his universe in his grasp of power, but each of his redeemed and adopted children, as a mother whose circling arms hold her babe to her bosom. T. M. GRIFFITH.

Philadelphia, Pa.

"LIKE PEOPLE, LIKE PRIEST."

THE proverb, "Like people, like priest," is usually reversed when quoted, and made to read, "Like priest, like people." The prophet (Hos. iv, 6-11) was describing the sinfulness of the people, and the proverb was given to show the effect of their lives upon the priesthood. The inevitable result of widespread demoralization among a people is to tone down their religious teachers. Quite unintentionally and unconsciously we lower our standard of morals by constant contact with those who are

in degraded moral conditions. What is at first shocking is soon endured, then condoned, and after a time practiced. It is still true that—

Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

The principle involved in the proverb and lines quoted find frequent illustration in heathen lands. There are many Europeans and Americans in China who, by contact with the heathen, have gradually taken on heathen vices. At first heathen practices were shocking and even horrifying, but time and contact gradually blunted their sensibilities, and little by little they have yielded until they have become even more degraded and shameless than the heathen. They are vividly described by St. Paul in Rom. i, 28-32.

The same principle finds illustration in these Eastern lands in a less offensive manner among the people who have come here as religious teachers. Their contact with heathen philosophy and worship has, in some instances, led them to what they now regard as an appreciation of the truth these systems contain and a readiness to incorporate that truth into the Christian system. There are a few ministers who came here many years ago and who, unfortunately, became connected with government affairs, who are now ready to incorporate some of the most important teachings of Confucius with Christian theology, and thus to practically unite the two systems.

One of the most prominent features of Confucianism is ancestral worship. In their temples they worship before the tablets of Confucius and other sages. They go to the graves of their ancestors at stated periods and offer their sacrifices and worship the spirits of the dead. It is now proposed to take ancestral worship into the Christian system. It is claimed that the acceptance of Christ need not necessarily interfere with this custom. It is believed that this concession on the part of Christian teachers will make Christianity more popular and render its success far more certain and rapid.

Recently I heard a doctor of divinity who has been in China many years quote from the Sermon on the Mount, "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill," and then go on to say, substantially, that Jesus did not come to destroy any truth, but to add to and complete any system containing truth, no matter where it might be found. His theory appears to be that Confucianism as an ethical system is in the main good, but needs the teachings of Christ to complete it—to bring it to perfection. Thus the teachings of Confucius and of Christ can be united and a complete system constructed. It was a clear case, unintentional, of course, of perverting the words of the great Teacher by quoting only a part of a most important utterance. The whole passage reads, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." If the Lord had said, "Think not that I

am come to destroy existing systems of religion as such, but to complete them by supplying what they lack," the theory of the reverend doctor would have seemed more reasonable. Jesus did not come to complete and fulfill Confucianism, but to fulfill the *law and the prophets*. The learned doctor's idea seemed to be that Confucius taught the truth concerning human relations, and Jesus taught the truth concerning divine relations, and so by putting the two together the Chinese would have a perfect system of truth.

One of the dangers now threatening Christianity in the East is compromise with heathenism. The advocates of this policy are, no doubt, finding much to encourage them in the proceedings of the World's Congress of Religions at Chicago, in which it seems to have been conceded that all religions are more or less divine, and that they must hereafter mutually respect each other. When one turns to his Bible and notes the denunciations of all idolatrous systems and worship, and then looks toward Chicago and sees Buddhism, Confucianism, Brahmanism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity in mutual embrace, he can hardly avoid asking, What does it mean?

As a spectacular performance the appearance in the Chicago Congress of Buddhist, Confucianist, Mohammedan, Brahman, and Christian priests and ministers upon the same platform calling each other brethren was, no doubt, a great success; but did it help or hurt Christianity? Suppose the priests of these religions here in China should say to the Christian missionaries, "It has been decided by the World's Congress of Religions at Chicago that all systems of religions are divine, and that each system is peculiarly adapted to the peoples to whom it has been given. Why trouble us with your strange doctrines? Return to your own countries, and allow us to practice the religions that have come down to us from our ancestors in peace." What answer could they give?

Fraternization by Christian ministers upon terms of equality with the robed and mitered priests of heathenism may have a fine scenic effect upon a World's Fair audience at Chicago, but a view of their deluded, degraded, naked dupes and slaves in their native lands is quite another thing. Has the World's Congress of Religions brought heathen religions up or has it let the Christian religion down? If they have fallen into each other's arms it would seem that one or the other, or perhaps both, must have happened. "Can two walk together except they be agreed?"

Shanghai, China.

A. B. LEONARD.

WERE ALL ANSWERS TO PRAYER PROVIDED AND ALLOTTED FROM ETERNITY?

If we understand Dr. Mudge, in his article on Prayer in a former *Review*, he takes the affirmative. He quotes from Bushnell with distinct approval, as follows: "God can never once make a new purpose in time, because he can never meet a new case which had not already come into knowledge and had its merits discovered and its allotments deter-

mined." He then comments thus: "His purposes were made from eternity, made with full knowledge of all the prayers that would be offered and with special adaptation to them," etc. This may be good theology for a Methodist minister, and it may be what is taught in the schools; but to an unsophisticated layman it seems strongly tinctured with Calvinism. What are God's purposes but his decrees? His purposes cannot be thwarted or resisted. If all the answers to prayer were from eternity allotted and determined it reasonably follows that all things were allotted and determined. The doctor sustains his views by reference to various Calvinistic authors. I would fain hope that it was because he could quote no Methodist.

The import of the doctor's views is that God finished all things "*in the beginning*," and that since this creation he has had no new volition and never can have any. As Bushnell says, in the above quotation, "God can never once make a new purpose in time." He rested from his labors literally and forever. It does not relieve the matter to say, as is said in one of his quotations, that foreknowledge has no causative effect. His purposes were made from all eternity, and his purposes are certainly causative and efficient. If the doctor intends to assert only the doctrine that God foreknows all things that may ever come to pass, with diffidence I suggest that such doctrine is more fatal to free will than that of the Calvinistic decrees. The decrees may be and, as we understand from the Scriptures, are often changed; but even the Almighty cannot change any fact that has come to his knowledge. We grant that knowledge can have no causative effect; but nothing can be known until it has existence. God necessarily knows all things, because he pervades the universe; but he can know only what exists, and his knowledge necessarily coincides with the truth. Whatever future events he knows he knows because he has determined them and given them the quality of being known. The doctor asserts that God "fills all time and has always been as present with what we call *now* as at the given moment when we reach it." The necessary consequence of this view is that when God created Adam the whole history of the race was present with him. All the sin and suffering of time and hereafter were there present before him, and by one awful fiat he spoke the whole into existence.

The doctor's theory may be good theology, built upon the supposed necessity of God's omniscience including a knowledge of everything that shall come to pass; but it does not seem to accord with the tenor of the Scripture, and God's omniscience needs no support from such a theory. He necessarily knows all things that are subjects of knowledge. But he has made his free moral agents lords over their own actions, and those actions cannot be subjects of knowledge until determined by the free agent. To the unsophisticated reader the Scriptures indicate that God has frequently been disappointed in those actions, and that he sometimes changes his decrees. He seems to have been disappointed with the conduct of Adam, and he was certainly disappointed by the actions of the antediluvians, and by the conduct of the children of Israel in the wilder-

ness, and by the conduct of Saul and various others. He changed his decrees regarding Nineveh, and he distinctly says in Jeremiah xviii, 7-10, that it is a part of the system of his general administration to change his decrees according to the exigencies: "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them," etc.

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THE MILLENNIUM.

In the July-August number of the *Review* there appeared a brief article on the Millennium, to which a reply seems called for. The first objection raised is against our taking the term millennium "in a material sense." This is exactly of a piece with the objections raised by Jewish and Gentile rationalists against our taking the conception of the Messiah by the Holy Ghost "in a material sense." We ask, Do Christians believe the incarnation of the Son of God because they can explain it or because they think it a fact well attested by human witnesses, or simply because the word says so? We find no greater difficulty in believing the word on future facts than on past facts. We see "interminable difficulty" in the way of those, rather, who wish, in the face of rationalistic unbelief, to hold fast to the real, material incarnation of the eternal Word, and who then turn round and, borrowing the weapons of the rationalists, proceed to spiritualize all that is predicted of Messiah's glorious kingdom over Israel. Literalizing backward and spiritualizing forward is theological seesawing.

We are next taken to task for not admitting "that Christ's kingdom was inaugurated at his [first] advent," and for not believing that the fallen tabernacle of David was built again when Christ "ascended the throne as the eternal successor of David, to reign henceforth over spiritual Israel," etc. Of course, we decline to believe any statements to that effect, except on as plain New Testament authority as can be produced to show that Jesus was the Christ. No New Testament writer states that Old Testament prophecy concerning Christ's kingdom found its fulfillment during Christ's life, or at Pentecost, or since. None is ever guilty of the device of transplanting David's "fallen tabernacle" to heaven. How could Christ, by ascending to heaven, become, in any sense whatever, the "eternal successor" of a king who never reigned there? Scripture never states that David's "tabernacle" means God's throne; nor that the "house of Jacob" means the (Gentile) Church; nor that believers are subjects of Christ's kingdom. Such looseness in the interchange of biblical terms, each of which has a definite and unchanging exegetical value, is not only unwarranted, but would soon convert the "impregnable rock" of the word into soft mud.

* The *Review* is especially glad to welcome the intelligent laymen of the Church to its "Arena."—ED.

Any theory which makes the ascension of Christ to heaven a restoration of David's throne over Israel confounds the human ancestor of Jesus, David, with his heavenly Father, God; merge his true Messiahship back into his eternal divine sonship. The very first book of the New Testament, Matthew's gospel, by the Spirit entitled, "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham," is stripped of all specific meaning and purpose. No motive is left for the providential guarding and careful recording of Jesus's lineal descent from the royal house of David, none for his being a Jew at all. He might as well have been born a Roman, or a Persian, or any other son of man if all those prophecies are to receive, finally, but a spiritual fulfillment.

Again, the Church, Christ's body, bride, and fullness,* is never once in the New Testament confounded with Israel, God's eternal, earthly people,† chiefest among the nations,‡ sole channel of salvation for them.§ And these latter, for a time established in worldly dominion, for a time treading down Jerusalem and the Jew, and the mission field for the out-gathering of Christ's body, the Church, are never confounded with either of the other two.¶ Over Israel and the nations,‡ not over the Church, which stands in wifely subjection only to her Lord and Head (Eph. v, 24), is the Christ to rule. In this rule the Church is called to share,** not in this age, but in the ages to come.†† Until then no kingdom, no ruling for her, but suffering, rejection, cross.††

"My kingdom is not of this world" is hurled at us. Our opponents have a way of handling this word of the Messiah, as though he had said "εις" τὸν τὸν κόσμον, and not "ἐκ" τοῦ τοῦ κόσμου. We bow to the absolute authority of this word as it reads. We decline, therefore, to believe in or to look for any establishment of his kingdom by means of existing (that is, τοῦ τοῦ κόσμου) agencies. For these all, however completely under the control of the Spirit, are "of" this present, perishable, corruptible cosmos. No amount of Holy Ghost power will ever, in this age, transform them into something unchanging and incorruptible. We believe Christ's kingdom, when it comes, will come "out of" heaven entirely. Its heirs must be born thence now. Thus, and thus only, will be secured infallibility of judgment, incorruptibility of principle, stability of executive power—in a word, likeness with Him—in the coming kings and princes of the earth.

To refute the assertion that "in no place throughout all his teachings does he refer to any future period when these hopes respecting a temporal reign shall be fulfilled," we would call up only two passages. In Luke xix, 11-15, the Master speaks a parable "because they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear." Its objective point is, unmistakably, the postponement of the appearing of the expected kingdom until the nobleman "went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return." The allusion to the practice required of the Heroic-

* Eph. i, 23.

† Isa. li, 3; John iv, 22.

** Rom. viii, 17.

+ 1 Chron. xvii, 22.

¶ 1 Cor. x, 32.

†† Col. iii, 4; 1 John iii, 2.

‡ Jer. xxxi, 7.

§ Psa. li, 6, 8; lxxii, 2, 11.

‡‡ 2 Cor. iv, 8.

ans, of coming to Rome before inaugurating their sovereignty over Judea, was familiar and striking. The obvious teaching is, no kingdom inauguration until his return. The second passage is the Lord's reply to the question of his disciples in Acts i, 6, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" We are told by commentators that these disciples, after hearing the good news of the kingdom from Jesus himself, after preaching it and seeing it divinely attested by signs and wonders, after additional instruction by their risen Master concerning the kingdom of God during the forty days before his ascension, "were still in gross ignorance concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom;" were "still hopelessly welded to low, carnal, Jewish conceptions of the same." We repudiate this slander upon their intelligence. We abhor the reflection cast upon the ability of the great Teacher. We shudder to think what a tremendous weapon is thus pressed into the hand of skeptic and unbeliever. For, if these disciples must stand convicted of utter incapacity rightly to understand Christ's teaching on the one central theme of his preaching, what other subject did they understand? We prefer to believe Christ's own words to them, "It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven." We believe the Master succeeded in opening their eyes on the point which had sorely perplexed them. And thus their inquiry calls out no rebuff or reproof from the Master, but receives acknowledgment in his reply, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power." Times and seasons for what? For reestablishment of the Davidic theocracy over Israel as an earthly nation. All the laws of the construction of language, of the relation of answer to question, of context to connection, demand this and forbid any other interpretation. The error of the apostles before Jesus rose from the dead was in thinking that the Messiah while in his mortal flesh should fulfill the old prophecies. Theologians in our day will have it that the Church, the fallible, corruptible, and divided body, while in mortal flesh must fulfill, nay, is itself the very fulfillment of those prophecies. Which is the greater and more inexcusable error?

In conclusion, which is the more "carnal" conception of "kingdom," "reign," and "conquest"—that which denies to believers in this age all assumption of power, authority, and dominion, assigning to them, while in their mortal bodies, the position, exclusively, of humiliation, service, trial, suffering, and patient waiting for Christ; or that which in one breath tells the Church that she is, indeed, to be like him in this world, despised and rejected, and in the next tells her to "conquer the world," to take on and exercise authority, influence, and dominion in matters social and political even in this present evil world? Let spiritual things be spiritually discerned by the spiritual. But let the word of the Lord stand for what it says, "And the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever."

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.**THE MINISTERIAL STUDENT—ARRIVAL AT COLLEGE.**

IN the progress of the young Christian toward a thorough education he has now passed the first period of formal educational life. Three years, more or less, have been spent at the academy. He has thus laid the foundations essential to the successful prosecution of advanced studies. The point which he has now reached is one of exceeding interest and importance. The college has a great charm about it to a young student. He has dreamed of it through all his preparatory years. He leaves home with a sense of importance new to him. His parents and friends share his feelings and give him the advice which they think will be needful amid his new environments and, as they fear, his new temptations. His first entrance upon the college campus is an occasion of strange delight. Everything around him is full of interest. The buildings are in some respects different from those to which he has been accustomed. The libraries are larger, and he sees everywhere the evidence of the care of the wise and benevolent founders and patrons of the institution.

His first duty will be to call upon the president or other officer designated to receive new students. If he has not already passed the examinations for admission he will, of course, be anxious until that has been done. When admitted, his first duty will be to secure a suitable roommate. This may be done by the college authorities in accordance with established regulations. If not, and if he is at liberty to make his own choice, he will do well to make haste slowly. One's roommate in college is a very important factor in his educational life. The qualities necessary in a suitable roommate are varied. All good people are not companionable, or, at least, not desirable to have in close association. A roommate may do much to make or to mar one's success in student life. While character and characteristics are very important, his habits of study and his ideals should not be forgotten. If one is associated day after day with a desultory student, or a companion to whom study is distasteful and who has no real object in view that is worth attaining, he cannot fail to be affected injuriously. On the other hand, constant companionship with a fellow-student of lofty aspirations and of careful habits is a constant inspiration to scholastic and moral advancement.

His companions at table are a part of his educational life. The daily talk of a rude man during meals may be very injurious. Men unpolished in manners or rude in speech should be avoided if possible. In case it be possible to make selections for the table as well as for the room his choice should fall on young men of intellectual acuteness, good manners, and scholarly tastes. Nothing has here been said of the duty of securing in these selections those who are religious, if possible, as this is assumed to be clearly recognized: Our ministerial student should always breathe the atmosphere of piety.

THE CULTIVATION OF ENGLISH STYLE.

ONE of the incidental requisites for ministerial success is the accurate and refined use of the English tongue. We cannot think that an undue emphasis is laid upon this phase of sermonic preparation and pulpit delivery in our universities and schools of theology. While laying all emphasis upon the weightier matters of the law, without which no ministerial furnishing is ever complete, it is encouraging that our great centers of education are also giving the subject the attention befitting its high importance. The pew should not surpass the pulpit in the correct and facile use of the mother tongue. With college graduates who have entered medicine, the law, or commercial life as auditors in all the churches it behooves the man who ministers to them in holy things that he lag not behind in the quality of his address to them. Though the misfortunes of early life may have prevented his graduation from classic halls, he, nevertheless, has a duty toward these particular auditors; that fortune has less highly favored him is no excuse for any slovenliness or inaccuracy of speech which it is within his power to remedy. The newspaper, also, in its daily circulation, the frequent magazine literature of the day, and the accessible libraries of all our larger villages and cities, to the extent that they act as educators of the common people, are a spur to the ministry of the day to the study and mastery of the English language.

As to the methods in which this most desirable end is to be brought about no invariable rule may, perhaps, be laid down. The circumstances of our ministers so widely differ as to earlier education, present environment, and personal facilities that to formulate any specific direction would be foreign to the present purpose. We may, however, venture the suggestion that the judgment of our best journalists, such as is expressed in the accompanying extract, has its definite value. A veteran editor, known for his terse and vigorous English, gives to young journalists the following advice, which merits the attention of ministers as well, and which, for its illustration of the excellencies to which it exhorts, is deserving of insertion in full:

After a knowledge of the English language comes, of course, in regular order, the practice, the cultivation of the ability to use it, the development of that art which in its latest form we call style, and which distinguishes one writer from another. This style is something of such evanescent, intangible nature that it is difficult to tell in what it consists. I suppose it is in the combination of imagination and humor, with the entire command of the word-resources of the language, all applied together in the construction of sentences. I suppose that is what makes style. It is a very precious gift, but it is not a gift that can always be acquired by practice or by study.

It may be added that certainly in its highest perfection it can never be acquired by practice. I do not believe, for instance, that everybody who should endeavor to acquire such a style as the late Dr. Channing possessed could succeed in doing so. He was a famous writer fifty years ago in Boston, and his style is of the most beautiful and remarkable character. As a specimen of it let me suggest to you his essay on Napoleon Bonaparte. That was, perhaps, the very best of the critical analyses of Napoleon that succeeded to the period of Napoleon worship, which had run all over the world. Channing's style was sweet, pure, and delightful, without having those surprises, those extraordinary felicities, that mark the style of some writers. It was perfectly simple, translucent throughout, without effort, never

leaving you in any doubt as to the idea; and you closed the book with the feeling that you had fallen in with the most sympathetic mind, whose instructions you might sometimes accept or sometimes reject, but whom you could not regard without entire respect and admiration.

Another example of a very beautiful and admirable style which is well worth study is that of Nathaniel Hawthorne. In his writings we are charmed with the new sense and meaning that he seems to give to familiar words. It is like reading a new language to take a chapter of Hawthorne; yet it is perfectly lovely because with all its suggestiveness it is perfectly clear, and when you have done with it you wish you could do it yourself.

The next point to be attended to is this: What books ought you to read? There are some books that are indispensable, a few books. Almost all books have their use, even the silly ones, and an omnivorous reader, if he reads intelligently, need never feel that his time is wasted even when he bestows it on the flimsiest trash that is printed; but there are some books that are absolutely indispensable to the kind of education that we are contemplating, and to the profession that we are considering; and of all these the most indispensable, the most useful, the one whose knowledge is most effective, is the Bible. There is no book from which more valuable lessons can be learned. I am considering it now not as a religious book, but as a manual of utility, of professional preparation, and professional use for a journalist. There is perhaps no book whose style is more suggestive and more instructive, from which you learn more directly that sublime simplicity which never exaggerates, which recounts the greatest event with solemnity, of course, but without sentimentality or affectation, none which you open with such confidence and lay down with such reverence; there is no book like the Bible. When you get into a controversy and want exactly the right answer, when you are looking for an expression, what is there that closes a dispute like a verse from the Bible? What is it that sets up the right principle for you, which pleads for a policy, for a cause, so much as the right passage of Holy Scripture?

Then, everybody who is going to practice the newspaper profession ought to know Shakespeare. He is the chief master of English speech. He is the head of English literature. Considered as a writer, considered as a poet, considered as a philosopher, I do not know another who can be named with him. He is not merely a constructor of plays that are powerful and impressive when they are shown upon the stage, with all the auxiliaries of lights and scenery and characters; he is a high literary treasure, a mighty storehouse of wisdom, the great glory of the literature of our language; and, if you don't know him, knowing the language may not be of much avail after all. Perhaps that is an exaggeration, and I take it back; but it is an object to know Shakespeare; it is indispensable to a journalist.

There is another English author who ought not to be neglected by any young man who means to succeed in this profession. I mean John Milton, and I invite your attention to that immortal essay of his, too little known in our day, the "Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." It is a treasury of the highest wisdom, of the noblest sentiments, and of the greatest instruction; study that, and you will get at once the philosophy of English liberty and the highest doctrine that has ever been promulgated, to my knowledge, with regard to the freedom of the press.

WEIGHING OUR SUCCESSES.

THE measure of success is a man's abiding personality and his abiding work. He whose influence for good lives in his achievements is the one who really lives. Mere transient popularity and temporary success are of little worth. They are the flowers which are beautiful for a day, but wither with the first breeze of the evening. They appear to the eye and gratify the sense, but leave no trace even of existence. Such is not the success of the true preacher. His work abides because it is God's work and is wrought by God's Spirit. "If any man's work abide . . . he shall receive a reward." This leads to the conclusion that the young preacher should seek such preparation and perform such labor as shall last. He must learn early in life to estimate at their proper value the mere praise and blame of men. He must not be elated if his sermons are

commended by admirers; he must not be cast down if they do not always win popular approval.

How then shall we weigh our success in our ministry? What standard shall we employ? Shall we make the social or the financial position of our Church the standard? In God's kingdom there are no first, second, or third class churches, and no first, second, or third class preachers. There is no keeping up our "grade" in the divine economy. All who are called to preach are equal in rank, although all preachers may not be equal in ability. They may do different work, they may command the attention of persons of different social and intellectual gifts, but they are all "ambassadors for Christ." They all persuade men in Christ's stead to be reconciled to God.

It would not be wise, therefore, to weigh our successes by the size or wealth of the church to which we are called to minister. It is true there is a kind of talent required in certain churches, and these churches can only be secured by those who are adapted to them. But the preacher must beware lest he regard the securing of some important pastorate as the achievement of success. That church exists for the performance of certain work, and it is his duty to see that this work is performed. He must be its leader and instructor in its great enterprises of personal salvation and practical benevolence. He may hold the position for a full pastoral term to the satisfaction of the congregation, and yet not be in the best sense a successful pastor. Only as he shall be the instrument of accomplishing all the good which that church ought to do, or is qualified to do, can he be in the highest sense successful. Once in a while the minister is forced to ask, "Am I succeeding as I ought? Where can I find a model of success?" And he will look around over his Conference and find some one of less talent and less opportunities of training and of work who has really done the work of the gospel minister, who has saved men and women, who has edified the Church, who has done good in manifold ways and, even though unknown outside of his immediate circle, is indeed "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed."

NOTES FOR STUDENTS ON HARMAN'S "INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES."

THIS important book on a most important subject is placed early in the list of studies prescribed by the bishops. It requires careful and painstaking study. Some notes briefly calling attention to its salient features and the methods to be pursued in its study may be helpful, especially to those who have not had a previous theological training.

The student should first note and impress upon his memory the purpose of the book as stated by the author, taking care to define clearly the meaning of the several terms, "genuineness," "credibility," "integrity," on which there is often confusion. Accurate definition is important. Only by careful discrimination of terms and by keeping in mind the author's purpose will the subordinate parts be readily retained in the memory.

He will do well also to group in outline the points discussed in the introductory chapter, which, in brief, may be stated as follows:

1. The scope of the discussion.
2. The mental attitude in which we should enter upon the study.
3. The scholastic acquisitions which are important in order to pursue the subject critically.
4. The author's justification of the difficulties which are to be found in the Bible.
5. The human and the divine elements which appear in the word of God.
6. The views of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Theophilus of Antioch, Origen, and others on the inspiration of the Scriptures.

These points are clearly stated by the author; but the student who is preparing for examination will do well to make an analysis for himself and to commit it to memory. It will not be difficult to memorize the analysis after it has been carefully prepared. The subjects are arranged in logical order, and thus can be more readily retained. When the analysis has been thoroughly mastered it becomes much easier to recall the details at the time of the examination. The whole discussion being before the mind in the outline, the bearing of each subordinate argument or illustration will be readily understood. This method should be supplemented by reading any discussions on the same topics which may be found elsewhere. Take, for example, the fourth point mentioned above. The author shows that the difficulties which are found in the word of God are analogous to difficulties which we meet in the physical world. On this point the student will do wisely to recall and read anew the discussion in Butler's *Analogy*, where this subject is very exhaustively treated.

A SUGGESTION.

It is the purpose of the "Itinerants' Club" to furnish such papers as will be most helpful to younger ministers, especially to those who are pursuing their Conference studies. During the past year attention has been called to the extent of the course which has been prescribed by the Board of Bishops, and an attempt has been made to emphasize the necessity of careful preparation in order to pass successful examinations. The course is now a rigid one, and the Conference committees are giving more than ordinary attention to this part of our Conference work. Conference itinerant clubs are holding meetings for lectures and instruction, and the committees are meeting at specified periods to examine the candidates, thus facilitating systematic preparation on the part of the student. This department of the *Review* will be glad to receive communications from brethren who have well-defined views on the methods by which the "Itinerants' Club" can best aid the young men who are pursuing their Conference courses. These communications will be regarded as confidential if so stated on the part of the writer; otherwise the editor will feel at liberty to use them in whole or in part.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

FASCINATION OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDY.

EVERYONE is interested in searching out the causes of great movements. This accounts for the numerous lives of great men and sketches of important events which continually pour from the press. It accounts for the never-failing interest manifested by believers and skeptics alike in the life of Jesus. Is it not at least striking that Renan, who spent forty years in carrying out a youthful plan to explain the origin of Christianity, should close his labors with a *History of the People of Israel*? Why was the student of the early years of Christianity fascinated with the history of the Jews? It was because he could not explain Jesus of Nazareth or the most remarkable religious movement of the world without going back to the Jews, from whom Christ sprang. But Judaism is even more than the historic mother of Christianity. There are three religions—Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism—which overleap national and race boundaries. The first two claim the Old Testament as their mother. In the Old Testament, as well as in the New, divine power hides. It is not strange, therefore, that from Germany and Holland we have almost as many histories of Israel as we have lives of Jesus. Augustine's *City of God*, the first attempt at a philosophy of history, the book which shaped the Roman Catholic hierarchy, grew out of his study of the Old Testament. The theology of the Puritans, which has largely shaped our American civilization, sprang from the same source. Every thinker who loves the philosophy of history, who delights in tracing great movements to their genetic causes, will find a strange fascination in Old Testament study. The chief reason why the history of Israel has not become the most prominent and popular study in our universities is because a prophet is needed to interpret this matchless literature. Have we not more scribes than prophets in our colleges?

PURPOSE.

OUR chief reasons for introducing a department of biblical research and archæology into the *Review* are an intense love of the Bible and a strong belief in its divine power. If we can awaken in our readers a greater interest in this book, if we can lead anyone to a profounder study of its pages, to a more intelligent conception of its growth, and to a deeper realization of its providential work in the training of the race and of its divine power yet to nourish the individual soul, we shall be satisfied.

We recognize at once the human as well as the divine elements in the book. To illustrate both these elements and to awaken interest in the Bible we shall present our readers from time to time with such facts as we can gather in regard to biblical archæology. We shall hail with joy any light which Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, or any land may throw

upon Old Testament chronology and history. We shall welcome all the light which the study of comparative religions may furnish us regarding the origin of religion and the growth of revelation. We shall aim to present without prejudice the latest assured results of historical criticism. While our space will not permit detailed representations of the processes of the critics, we shall try to place their conclusions fairly before our readers. While confining ourselves mainly to the Old Testament, we shall not hesitate, when occasion demands, to point out the victory of a supernatural philosophy in the field of New Testament criticism. Let us study the Old Testament with open minds and see if the book does not prove its divinity by furnishing us with the bread of life.

THE BURNING QUESTION.

THOUGH the higher criticism must not monopolize our space, and though as a rule we shall discuss it only incidentally, yet any attempt to ignore so important a subject in a department like ours would be naturally attributed to cowardice. So in this number, while we are laying our corner stone, we shall consider very briefly this perplexing problem. We may say right here that higher criticism is not one of the exact sciences; nor can it be as long as imagination and preconceived notions have such sway within its domain.

In any controversy it is always well to find a common meeting place, and then to get a clear idea of the divergent ways. Critics on both sides agree that Amos and Hosea wrote between B. C. 775 and 725, and that the eighth century B. C. was a period of great literary activity among the people of Israel. At this point the views of the critics diverge. The more advanced higher critics insist that the eighth century B. C. was the first period of literary activity among the Israelites. Wellhausen, though admitting that writing had been practiced from a much earlier period, yet would restrict it to formal instruments, and that upon stone. Of this we shall speak in another issue. He thinks that a few religious songs were in existence before the ninth century; but these "were handed down from mouth to mouth." The more radical critics claim that the phrase "the law and the prophets" is misleading. The law, they say, is a fabrication of the prophets during the early part of Josiah's reign; and the story of its discovery in the temple at that time is a pure invention to give the law greater authority.

Readers very naturally inquire whether discoveries, archaeological or of any nature, have been made which will force fair-minded students to accept such radical views regarding the Old Testament. We reply in the negative. Indeed, such men as Kuenen and Wellhausen boldly assert that it is impossible to construe the phenomena presented in the literature of Israel without first adopting some historical theory of the progress or retrogression of the Jewish people. In order to determine the order of the sources with any degree of certainty, literary and linguistic arguments are rejected or treated as secondary, and the aid of historical criti-

cism is invoked. The most striking proof that the critics cannot determine the relative age of documents by the study of the documents themselves is the fact that the "Priestly Document," which used to be set down by the critics as the earliest source of the Hexateuch, is now by the Grafian hypothesis made the very latest. The reason for this change is not a linguistic one, but the fact that the latest theory evolved from the brain of the critics as to the course of Israelitish history demands that this document take a late place in the materials out of which the Hexateuch was composed. Kuenen tells us frankly, "For us the Israelitish is one of the principal religions, nothing less, but also nothing more." Tiele, in his *History of Religions*, presents the naturalistic formula by which each race, including the Israelitish, has advanced from primitive worship to animism, polydemonism, polytheism, and pantheism or theism. Upon the other side investigators like Schrader and critics like Dillman and Nöldeke have reached very different conclusions from Wellhausen and Kuenen as to the development of Israelitish history. Recognizing the guiding hand of Jehovah in the national affairs of the Jewish people, the former hold that the account of the call of Abraham, the sojourn in Egypt, the deliverance through Moses, the settlement in Canaan, and the establishment of the Israelitish kingdom are narratives of real events which took place substantially as related in the biblical books. In a word, the radical critics start with a naturalistic hypothesis, and they fail to see that God favored Israel at the outset with a revelation which was followed by alternate periods of declension and progress. The historical materials are arranged not solely or chiefly according to internal marks furnished by the materials themselves, or by any side-lights from other literatures, but to a wonderful extent according to the preconceived philosophical theories of the writers.

The great question at issue between the historians and the scientists of the naturalistic and supernaturalistic schools is whether history or science can be interpreted on purely naturalistic grounds. We hold that a supernatural philosophy is demanded by both. The farther we go back in the religious history of any nation the more nearly that nation approaches a theistic conception of the universe. If we cannot discover continued light from on high in the great religious literatures outside the Bible we certainly can see some signs of original revelation by the Father of all. Be this as it may, the Bible has exercised a unique influence upon the civilization of the world. Out of the Old Testament literature sprang the New Testament, the most vital book on the globe to-day. Above all, from the people of Israel came the Saviour of the world. The first duty of the scientist or historian is to recognize facts, and then try to construe them. It would certainly be more rational to attribute the supernatural results of the Bible to a supernatural cause, especially if such a cause must be recognized in nature, than to attempt to empty all history of providential guidance and then reduce the literature of the Old Testament to the naturalistic plane of Egyptian or Assyrian literature. To account for the creation which we find in nature or for the revelation

which we find in the Bible upon the naturalistic hypothesis is to make the effect greater than the cause.

The naturalistic theory breaks down again when applied to the history of the Bible in detail; for, while granting that the eighth century B. C. was a period of great prophetic activity, how can critics maintain that this was the first period of activity among the people of Israel? How can they maintain that Elijah and Elisha could neither read nor write, or that they were but little more than raving fanatics, imitators of Canaanitish soothsayers? On such an hypothesis how is it that within a century, despite the slow progress of the Orient, we pass from this non-literary and superstitious age to the lofty religious tone and the highly finished literary products of Amos and Hosea? Or, if Wellhausen and Cheyne's theories regarding the Psalter are true, how is it that the richest and most inspiring devotional literature of all the ages was produced in an age of religious decadence, and by men whom the critics declare to be religious formalists engaged in pious fraud? Again, the prophecies, after the most thorough sifting by the critics, contain some passages which can only be interpreted as predictions of a coming Saviour of the world. How could the prophets have given the race the lofty moral teaching of the Book of Isaiah coupled with the false and superstitious claims of soothsayers? More marvelous still is the fact that from this politically insignificant race and from a tribe and family of that race designated by the prophets a person appeared who claimed that these prophecies were fulfilled in himself. Explain some prophecies away, and the fact remains that the essence of prophecies uttered more than two thousand years ago are finding their fulfillment in the influence which Christ is gaining over the world to-day. In view of the phenomena we cannot possibly explain the Old Testament except upon the theory that it contains a supernatural revelation.

Finally, while we believe that the higher criticism has thrown light upon a vast number of details as to the origin of the Old Testament, we have never been able to escape the conviction that the hypothesis of Kuenen, Graf, and others leaves the writers of the Old Testament open to the charge of fraud, innocent (?) though it be. Amos says distinctly that prophets had preceded him. Hosea makes a similar declaration. He speaks repeatedly of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and that the Lord led them out of Egypt by a prophet. Either these men were preceded by prophets, one of whom belonged to the period of the Egyptian bondage, or else Amos and Hosea were deceivers of the people. The naturalistic hypothesis is not only defective as a philosophy, but it also breaks down when applied to any one of the critical periods of Jewish history. Considering all the phenomena before us, and remembering the outcome of New Testament criticism, we believe that the higher criticism of the Old Testament will deliver the Church from the worship of the letter on one side, while upon the other side it will furnish coming generations with stronger reasons than any other generation has possessed for the conviction that "we have the word of prophecy made more sure."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.**MISSIONARY COUNCILS.**

THE year 1893 saw several important missionary conferences, with representatives of several branches of the Christian Church participating in the proceedings. The great Decennial Conference of India was in session in Bombay when the year opened, and its discussions, with the formal papers and addresses, make two goodly volumes of over four hundred pages each, which will be of permanent value to the student of missionary movements. A general missionary conference of all the missionary societies of the continent of Europe was among the notable gatherings of the year. For the first time in its history the world saw a pan-denominational missionary conference under the Southern Cross. This first gathering for counsel of the Churches of the mission field in Australasia, composed of representatives of nineteen missionary societies from various parts of Australia, New Zealand, and other portions of the South Seas, convened at Melbourne. Another general missionary conference was held at Durban, Cape Colony, South Africa. About fifty English, Scotch, and American missionaries, representing various missionary societies laboring in South Africa, made reports of their work and took part in the deliberations. The Congress of Missions held as auxiliary to the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, composed of representatives of missionary work in large cities among depressed classes and immigrants in this country, and participated in by foremost men and women of this country and Europe and other parts of the world, while not all that it might have been made nor reaching the ideal of its projectors, will yet stand out as an important and impressive contribution to the cause of the world's evangelization; and the volumes of its proceedings, promised at an early date, will be a handsome contribution to the literature of missions.

Five such great gatherings for counsel on the methods and results of missionary plans and policies in a single year, held in widely separated centers of human influence, in Asia, Europe, Australia, Africa, and America, all having the one aim of the extension of the knowledge and power of the Christian religion, show that this department of Christian effort and thought is well to the front. Such an accidental combination of intellectual activity in any department of political or social economic character would arrest the attention of statesmen as marking a drift or tendency in human affairs—in fact, a movement which they could not ignore. The fact that these are of a religious character does not remove them from the category of significant human events. If no human statecraft has produced them they are yet within the fine diplomacy of divine providence and in the interest of a universal kingdom of Jesus, the Son of Mary, the Son of God. There is minor significance in the assemblies of a less formal nature of Christian missionaries, such as those of the International Missionary Union, held annually at Clifton Springs, N. Y., and

the union conference of all the missionaries in and about Calcutta in monthly meeting for deliberative purposes, and the still later development of this tendency in the Arima missionary conference of Japan. The village of Arima is situated in a mountain valley back of Kobe, about twelve hundred feet above sea level, and has hot and cold mineral springs. Since 1891 missionaries who have been obliged to resort thither have held conferences on the work of the missions of Japan and China and other lands. The conference of this year saw one hundred and thirty missionaries, with their wives and children, present at Arima.

PATRIOTISM IN MISSION COUNTRIES.

It is among the experiences of the modern missionaries to heathen lands to discover that patriotism has become a serious obstacle to evangelization. It is only by the intensest national spirit that Bulgaria is able to attain a solidarity that can resist the political competitions of powerful nations whose antagonisms focalize on Bulgarian boundary lines. Everything national must be fostered, all else discountenanced. The Church must be indigenous or be naturalized at the outset. Protestantism must be acclimated and assimilated. The political arena is strongly Protestant in its *personnel*. Robert College trained the men who have made and are making modern Bulgaria. They have draughted its constitution and controlled its legislature. But they can do neither except in the interest of the intensest Bulgarian nationalism. The Protestant religion, therefore, may be desired and the foreign ecclesiasticism disliked. One of the difficulties of the Methodist propaganda in Bulgaria has been to encourage this patriotic element essential to the very life of Bulgaria, and at the same time develop a Methodist church.

Patriotism has also entered into the missionary issues of Japan. Whatever else the Japanese are they are Japanese first, last, and all the time. They have sent their embassies abroad to study foreign constitutions, but only with the purpose of constructing their own, which Japan will evolve independently for itself. They experimented with foreign dress for their women, but gave it up as not an improvement on their own. They tried foreign systems of postal service, and evolved their own. They accepted the foreign educationalist, but only desired his services to familiarize Japanese teachers with foreign curricula and methods.

They accepted the foreign religious teacher in the same way. He was so enthusiastically received that it looked as if Japan might become Christian in a day; and the more so as statesmen who had no personal Christian experience thought that Japan would be compelled to accept Christianity and give it a place in the comity of the nation. But Japan had not shifted its base. It only proposed to accept the foreign ecclesiasticism far enough to see what there was in it which it desired to assimilate into Japanese national life. Hence the movement which resulted in a compromise of a number of missionaries to form the "Church of Japan," at the sacrifice of their denominationalism. But this could only be a halting

place. The Japanese believed himself able to dispense with all the creeds hitherto formulated. He would have none of them. He did not care to accept even the Apostles' Creed. He would make his own, from the Bible alone, as others assumed that they had done. He would do with religion and the Church as he had done with constitutions and naval systems and posts and women's frocks. He would examine, adopt, modify, reject, or assimilate as he judged well, in religion as he did in educational schemes. The spirit of nationalism abroad always demanded Japan for the Japanese. It has never departed from that fundamental principle in individual or national action. This will explain what seems often to be a vacillation in the Japanese and has made them to be considered a very fickle race. The misapprehension of the foreigner of the intent of the Japanese in the intermediate stage of his progress is the only ground for it. The Japanese Church to-day thinks itself sufficiently developed to take charge absolutely of its own affairs, if only the foreigner will give over his money without dictating the uses to which it is to be put.

All this may appear as the precociousness of an unbearded youth, and that element does enter into it; but it is well to bear in mind that a spirit of self-reliance is of all things that which we should hail in an oriental. A spirit of patriotism should be respected anywhere. We may differ with the Christians of Japan as to whether they have been long enough in pupillage to secure them against heresy or wasteful energy in things ecclesiastic; but the spirit of self-poise and self-direction is inherent in the problem of self-support and self-propagation. Whatever we think of it, nationalism, or patriotism, is one of the forces we have to reckon with, whether we like it or not, in the propagation of the Gospel in foreign lands, whether it be progressive as in Bulgaria and Japan, or obstructively conservative, as in Turkey, where the government will not so much as allow a constitution of a Christian Endeavor Society because it might train the young people in constitutional government.

ZENANA BAPTISM.

It has been evident for some years past that the Church must, sooner or later, face the question of providing baptism for women who have become Christians in heathen lands, where social customs of an inexorable order immure them in zenanas. It is idle to force an issue with the custom under present conditions, and it is far from sure that any sudden and severe modification would be in any wise prudent. Sir William Muir, who has made as thorough a study of social conditions of India as any living man, and who is a warm friend of Christian progress, expressed probably the judgment of all experienced persons in Hindostan, that any serious modification of the purdah system would be deleterious to good morals. In the simpler society of the Hindoos before the invasion of the Moslem rulers seclusion of women was not essential to the preservation of the respectability of the family; but the ruthless and disastrous conduct of the Mohammedans as a conquering race introduced such environments as

simply compelled the Hindoos to find in enforced privacy of females protection of the purity of the home. The whole moral tone was lowered by the presence of this freebooter in morals. The order of society has become fixed on the plane of nonassociation of the sexes. Christianity dare not seek to lower moral fastidiousness among people who are without sufficient development of moral resistance to justify the removal of artificial restraints. It would, under existing environments, compromise the character of the minister, as well as of the inmates of the homes, were he to enter these precincts to administer baptism to the women. They cannot leave the privacy shielded by the purdah. Perhaps there are twenty thousand women in the zenanas of India to-day who have become Christians and are unbaptized by virtue of the embarrassment of this social condition, which, as we have said, it is not wise at present to materially or rapidly change. These women desire baptism as the complete expression of the Christian life they have adopted and as conducive to it. What will the Church do with the question? It is already a large one and being augmented daily. It is not only what we shall do to-day, but to-morrow. A great movement is sweeping over the land, and tens of thousands of women are actually coming to Christ. Must those of them who have accepted Jesus Christ as their Saviour, through the ministries of women who can enter their abodes, be denied baptism? Shall the Church recognize lay baptism and allow authorized women visitors to baptize these women in their homes? Shall they be taught to believe that baptism is a matter of indifference, or that it is a matter which requires that they must violate their standards of existing society and their own sense of moral propriety and womanly decency, to secure it at the hands of an ordained minister? It is no small problem, and the Churches in India are probably the only competent parties to judge of the proper course to be pursued. The Calcutta Missionary Conference, composed of the missionaries of all Churches in that city and vicinity, meets monthly for the consideration of missionary questions. It is the largest body of missionaries meeting regularly in the world. They have recently given this matter of zenana baptisms most careful consideration in at least two sessions of their body. The matter was also under consideration at the Bombay Decennial Conference. There is not uniformity of view, by any means, among the missionaries themselves; but there is a deepening conviction that the issue must be squarely met ere long, and that meanwhile provision should be made in some form to cover cases of special character, but that the Hindoo home must be kept inviolate.

THIBET is the only country which can now be said to be closed to the Christian evangelist. Miss Taylor, partly in disguise, has within a year crossed China and gained entrance into the eastern edges of Thibet. Miss Taylor seems so convinced that something can be done in a missionary way that she is in England organizing a Thibet mission on the plan of the China Inland Mission.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

H. G. Ibbeken. This scholar has made himself a leader by his exegetical studies. Of these his researches concerning the Sermon on the Mount are the most thorough. He has produced a work on this theme worthy of a place alongside of that by Tholuck. Ibbeken holds that the Sermon on the Mount was intended to be to the Christian system what the giving of the law by Moses was to the Mosaic system. This, he thinks, was indicated, first of all, by the ascent of Jesus to a mountain for the giving of his evangelical law. The thought that he went up into the mountain that he might be the more easily heard, as also that he might furnish for his auditors a more impressive environment, he rejects as insufficient. But he argues that Matthew's entire portraiture of the life of our Lord is governed by the thought of making it a reflection of the history of Israel. He thinks that to Matthew, as well as to Paul, the important personalities and facts of Israelitish history are types of Jesus and his life. And especially is this parallel apparent to and through the Sermon on the Mount. There is a parallel between the miraculous birth of our Lord and Isaac, through whose birth the Israelitish people were made possible; between the emigration of Jacob and his sons to Egypt and the flight of Jesus's parents to Egypt with their child; between the murder of the innocents by Herod and of the Israelitish boys by Pharaoh; between the baptism of Jesus and the baptism of the Israelites in crossing the Red Sea; between the forty days' temptation of Jesus and the forty years' wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness. He closes his argument with a parallel between the congregation to which Moses proclaimed the law and that to which Jesus spoke. The latter does not, indeed, include all Israel, but it did include, he thinks, a sufficient number and from a sufficiently wide and varied circuit to fairly represent the whole Jewish people. But Ibbeken does not draw from all this the conclusion that Matthew invented the history. He believes, rather, that the history of Israel was, in fact, a type of the history of Jesus, and that Matthew simply follows the facts in the case. He argues his theory with great ingenuity. But its practical value is so doubtful as to prevent its taking hold upon the deeper elements of the soul.

Edgar Loening. While not a theologian, his investigations as a professor of law have led him into the department of early ecclesiastical polity; and because he can look with the eyes of a lawyer and without any dogmatic or ecclesiastical prepossessions his conclusions will have all the greater weight. According to him the earliest bishops and presbyters were, at least in some places, identical. The bishop was neither a priest nor a ruler, but a servant of the Church. There is very

little evidence that the early Church adopted either the form of government in vogue in the synagogue or that employed by the heathen religious societies, although temporarily at first the organization resembled that of the synagogue. The government of the Church grew directly out of the spirit and needs of Christianity. The bishop was the expression of the unity of government and of doctrine. But as late as the middle of the second century there was no external bond of union between the Churches of the various cities, although all the elements were then at hand which were necessary to the development of the Roman Catholic Church. The distinction between the ministry and the laity had its origin very early. It was supposed that the bishops, presbyters, and deacons received a special charism by the laying on of hands at their entrance upon office. It was their duty to feed and care for the flock, and to preserve the doctrine in its purity, and to exhort those to repentance who had violated their religious or moral obligations. They were without definite salary, and might follow a temporal calling for support. But support at the hands of the congregation became more common as the congregations increased in size and wealth. As this custom grew the bishops, presbyters, and deacons were more and more separated from the masses of the Christians into a distinct class. The belief that the first bishops were ordained by the apostles increased the respect in which they were held, and led to the expectation that they should become the true preservers of the faith. The introduction of the idea of the Old Testament priesthood into the Christian ministry still further increased the power of the clergy. All this shows that the Protestant conception of church government is correct as against Romanism, and the Low Church idea correct as against the High Church.

Johannes Dräseke. It is a common mistake that the critical spirit which is abroad in Germany is confined chiefly to the Bible. It is a still more common mistake that the motive of criticism is the discovery of error in the book and the overthrow of the faith in the supernatural. In fact, the purpose of all criticism of written documents is to test the value of their contents, and the Bible is but one of many documents which pass under the critic's hand. The greater importance of the Bible alone makes it the more frequent subject of critical treatment. An illustration of the work of the critic in another field is found in Dräseke's researches among early patristic literature. It is not enough for a critic like Dräseke to have in his possession a document whose text has been carefully edited and accredited to a certain author. He must have proof, not only that the text is approximately authentic, that is, essentially the words written by the original author; he must have proof, also, that the document originated with the person to whom it is attributed. In testing this tradition is worth something, but internal evidence must correspond. For example, Dräseke takes up two documents directed against Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea, and handed down to us under the

name of Athanasius, and undertakes to prove: 1. That the two documents could not have been composed by the same person; 2. That they could not, in spite of tradition, have been written by Athanasius; and 3. That they originated in Alexandria, and were probably written by Didymus and his pupil, Ambrose. Such criticism is valuable to all who wish to be accurate. No careful thinker wishes to attribute to one author what really sprang from another, especially if by investigation it is within his power to ascertain the truth. It is all the more necessary to proceed on critical principles in the use of early literature because it was not regarded as wrong in those days to attach the name of a celebrated author to a work in order to give it weight with the reader, and also because, even where no intentional deception was practiced, the real name of the author was often lost, and it was left to conjecture to determine the authorship of the document. Dräseke is one of the foremost of those who have attempted in recent years to furnish the material for a correct history of early Christian literature.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Zwingli's Theology," by Dr. August Baur. Until this work appeared no attempt at a comprehensive and critical presentation of the theology of the great Swiss reformer had been made. In the work of Dr. Baur we have a history of the theological development of Zwingli from his earliest years to the period when he completely broke with Roman Catholicism and his evangelical ideas were fully formed. This is followed by a systematic presentation of the fully developed theology, including his antagonism to the views of the radicals, the Anabaptists, and Luther. The only point we can here take up is his view of the parallel which D'Aubigné draws between the sickness of Zwingli and the bitter penitence of Luther. Baur declares that the comparison is more brilliant than correct. In the anxiety of his heart at Erfurt he was a seeker who was compelled to find salvation in Christ by a painful breach of all the means of grace known to the Church. Zwingli never experienced anything like this, but by a gradual process of events and studies had been led to a knowledge of salvation and saving truth before he was attacked by the plague. Zwingli himself never attributed to his sickness of 1519 any such significance. His poems of that period disclose nothing of the kind, but rather bear witness that during his sickness the certainty of a gracious relationship with God was a source of consolation to him. Rather was this period of suffering one in which he personally tested the experience which he had previously attained in quiet and regular development. Yet it must be confessed that while his sickness was not necessary to bring him low before God that he might find salvation it did have the effect of leading him to a higher appreciation of his future obligation. That he was spared from death made a powerful impression upon him. He looked upon the divine favor by which he was

restored as a seal set upon his work as a preacher of the Gospel, and as a confirmation and legitimization of his previous declarations of free grace. He was encouraged, and, more than that, he was thereby warned that he must persevere in his chosen faith, and that he must bear all assaults quietly and even joyfully which resulted from the prosecution of his divine commission.

"The Teachers of the Mishna," by Dr. M. Braunschweiger. This is a work by a Jew and written for the Jews. It is a kind of *Acta Sanctorum* of Judaism. Every person mentioned in the Mishna as having any special claim to favor is here briefly portrayed. The object of the book is to furnish Jewish youth and Jewish families with records of the past of Judaism which shall inspire the reader with respect for Jewish history and the Jewish religion, as well as with a purpose to emulate the characters and deeds of the heroes of the faith here depicted. Its popular character would naturally exclude it from mention here. But several considerations move us to give it place. First, it affords us an idea of the feelings of a devout Jew of the present day. Second, it reveals the purpose of the better class of Jews to furnish the materials out of which the rising generation may draw support in the midst of allurements from the faith. Third, it is a sample of what Judaism is doing in the religious and theological world. And fourth, it is a valuable book for those who wish to study the Mishna without spending too much time and energy thereupon. The advantage of reading in this book the lives of Gamaliel, Hillel, Akiba, and others is that we have their portraiture from the Jewish standpoint, and thereby can the better understand the Jewish faith and practice. But the stories told are in some cases evidently embellished, not by the author, but in the sources from which he draws. For example, Akiba was compelled to dedicate himself wholly to scholarly pursuits in order to win the woman of his choice. Accordingly he departed to a distant land to study, and after twelve years returned with twelve thousand disciples. Overhearing his wife say that she would be willing to have him absent for twelve years more for purposes of study, he departed and at the end of the second period returned with twenty-four thousand pupils. The twelve years with the twelve thousand, and the twice twelve with the twice twelve thousand pupils, are so evidently artificial as to excite suspicion at once, to say nothing of the fact that he had never learned anything until he was forty years of age and is represented as spending so long a period in study with such immense numerical results.

"Contributions to the History of Semitic Religions," by Frederick Baethgen. The chief interest of this book centers in its view of the relation of the doctrine of God among the heathen Semites to that of Israel. The author rejects Renan's idea that all the Semites were originally monotheists, and also the opposite one of Kuenen that they were all originally polytheists, and that the faith of Israel was the product of the preaching of the

prophets. In opposition to Kuenen, Baethgen asserts that the prophets were able to unfold their activities just because they rested upon a pure theology, and that to suppose that the higher morality of the prophets produced the purer theology leaves unanswered the question as to the source of this higher morality. While, however, Baethgen rejects the theories of both Renan and Kuenen he approaches much nearer to the former; for he assumes that there was a time when all Semites possessed only a simple consciousness of the divine, and which was monotheism only so far as it conceived of God as wholly undivided, but fell short of monotheism in not attributing personality to the Deity. This God all Semites called El. And this word indicates the common point from which the later developments of the heathen Semites and of Israel proceeded in the doctrine of God. With the heathen there was a constant progress from the original conception of God to numberless gods, with but occasional efforts to reach the idea of divine unity. With the Israelites, on the other hand, there were occasional beginnings of a polytheistic division of the original idea of God, and sometimes violent conflicts with the heathen tendency; but fundamentally there was constant progress along the way to an absolute monotheism. This he can only account for on the supposition that Israel was constantly favored with a divine guidance and revelation. That he fully disproves by most scientific methods the position of Kuenen is without doubt. And while he fully recognizes the imperfections of practice among the Israelites he clearly shows that their faith became gradually more pure from the times of Abraham down to the days of the prophets. The book will be as interesting as romance to those who love such studies, and its thoroughness is worthy of all imitation.

Romanism in its Native Haunts. When it is charged against Christianity that its conversion of heathenism was of the most superficial character, brought about by intrigue or force, making the world nominally Christian but leaving it actually heathen, the thoughtful student is ready with a reply. He attributes it to the spirit of those times against which even Christianity could work but slowly. But it does occasion surprise to find that in all those countries where the Roman Catholic Church has its strongholds the heathen spirit which pervaded the prevalent Christianity of the world has never been eliminated and replaced by the Christian spirit. This can only be accounted for by the consideration that in the Roman system the Church is the guarantor of salvation to all who have her good will. It is neither rightness nor righteousness which insures salvation, but the Church. It is, therefore, not essential that the Romanist should be a Christian in principle. His character may be the product of heathenism pure and simple. His conduct may be the natural, and hence heathenish, expression of his character; but if he belongs to the Church and can secure priestly absolution he can be and will be saved. Since it is not necessary for the heathen to become a Christian except formally and nominally no effort need be put forth to Christianize the Church.

We may give here some illustrations of the condition of things in southern Italy, as drawn from a recent work by Th. Trede, who has spent several years there. One of the scenes which he gives is a carnival in the Church at the time of the general carnival among the people. Two pulpits were occupied respectively by a young and an old priest. The throngs pressed around the pulpits to listen to a conversation which it was expected would be held between the two divines. A is the older, B the younger priest, the latter representing the people. A begins: "Where have you come from?" B. "From the campagna." A. "What were you doing there?" B. "We were feasting." A. "What had you to eat?" B mentions a list of edibles which excites the astonishment of A, who smacks his tongue and makes grimaces to excite the laughter of the crowd. A now censures intemperance in eating and drinking and gives a humorous description of the scenes at the carnival meals. B confesses to gluttony but promises reformation. A declares that the people must not only reform, they must also atone for their sin. As the dispute proceeds care is taken to make the people laugh. A says: "Yes, you Neapolitans laugh now, but when you roast in purgatory you will not laugh. B makes grimaces and the crowd laugh again. And so the conversation continues for an hour. The edification which comes from such a scene yearly may be imagined. Another old heathen custom, that of nightly religious festivals, is preserved by the southern Italian Roman Catholics, and is described as follows: The festival is in honor of one of the many madonnas. The procession begins about 10 P. M., and is composed of men, boys, women, and girls, leaping, dancing, and swinging torches and trumpets high in the air. About midnight the masked procession begins, and represents satyrs, fauns, and other hideous creatures. The conduct of the participants becomes more and more wild. This is followed by a festival meal. At 3 A. M. begins a demoniacal tumult. The crowds are intoxicated with drink and excitement. Countenances are wild, eyes aflame, there is loud laughter and noisy shouting. The people mingle tumultuously among each other with the greatest excitement, swinging hats, torches, and knives; they groan, howl, yell, and whistle until the sounds cease to be human. Toward morning the crowds disperse, dancing, jumping, and waltzing; and so ends a Roman Catholic festival in honor of "Mary the mother of God." Such a scene is in no sense different from the old heathen dances in honor of Cybele. In fact, religious dances, as such, are customary to this day in southern Italy. In the vicinity of Salerno, every August, is celebrated the festival of the forty martyrs, in whose honor a dance is held. It is accompanied by the drum, and the dance proceeds upon the open streets. Men, women, and children dance bareheaded, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups. The hair of the women streams in the air, every face is flushed, the perspiration pours from their bodies, and their garments are covered with dust. In the more remote villages and cities the dance is a part of the religious service proper, and is carried on chiefly by the young people of both sexes. In fact, dances of nearly every kind known to ancient heathenism are prac-

ticed to-day by the Roman Catholic Christians of southern Italy. Is there reason why the Gospel should not be carried into Roman Catholic countries by the evangelical Church?

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL

The Third General Mission Conference in India Again. Among the interesting questions discussed was that of the native preachers. It was found that among the various evangelical churches of India eight hundred and fifty native pastors were employed—an increase of ninety per cent in nine years. The Americans insisted that the native pastors should be wholly supported by the congregations they serve, and demanded of them a comparatively small amount of education. Others, especially the Scotch, insisted upon a thorough intellectual training. It was, however, agreed that not only converted and trustworthy men, but also educated men, were preferable as native preachers. They ought to have a good education in biblical, systematic, and practical theology in their mother tongue. But differences of locality make it possible to employ a variety in degree of talent. It was also agreed that while the native pastors need not have as large salaries they are in all other respects to be held equal to the foreign missionaries. A good deal of discussion was devoted to the relations of the different missionary societies and representatives of different countries to each other. It was agreed that among the 288,000,000 inhabitants of India there is room for all the workers now employed, and vast numbers besides. The only question was how they could best work together and not interfere with each other. A territorial division among the societies was regarded as impractical. Proselytism was condemned. Another subject of profound interest was the employment of literary means. It was shown that in the government schools alone there are 3,700,000 pupils. The youth are very rapidly learning to read. The desire for literature is strong and increasingly prevalent; but, as yet, it is being met chiefly with immoral or skeptical literature. The duty of the missionaries, therefore, was plain. It was universally conceded that specially gifted missionaries should be employed in the exclusive work of providing reading which would meet the general demand and yet tend upward and not downward. Just recognition of the various Bible and tract societies was accorded. It was a matter for devout gratitude that among eight hundred and fifty lepers in the asylums five hundred had been converted since 1864.

Fourth International Temperance Congress. The temperance congresses of Antwerp, Zurich, and Christiania were followed by a fourth, which was held in the Hague, Holland, August 16-18, 1893. The queen regent of the Netherlands was the special patron of this congress in the Hague; the State made appropriations for part of its expenses; its honorary president was the then minister of the interior, while the mayor of the

city addressed the congress on the significance of the work of the congress for the city officials. The meetings were held in the museum for art and science. Among those present were the representatives of the queen-regent of the Netherlands, of Belgium, France, Italy, Norway, and Luxemburg, the ministers of the interior and of finance for Holland, and three hundred delegates, most of whom were from Holland. The congress is not a total abstinence body, but contains members who believe that the moderate use of intoxicants is harmless. Among the advocates of total abstinence was Dr. August Forel, a Swiss expert in insane asylum work, who maintained that all intoxicants are poisons, and especially to the brain; that the use of alcohol shortens the average of life; that alcoholic beverages neither nourish nor produce strength, but are a means of injury, and their use, like that of opium and morphine, should be constantly opposed. However much the theorizers and scholars might differ, the friends of the people would have no doubt as to the injuriousness of alcoholic drinks. Considerable time was devoted to the discussion of the means by which the use or abuse of alcoholic drinks could be decreased. Moral suasion was one of the favorite means. Reports were made as to the results secured by the cooperation of the total abstinence societies, the Church, woman, and the press. Reform of the drinking customs and the education of the young in temperance principles were recommended. It was reported that in French Switzerland two thousand schools give instruction as to the physical effects of the use of alcoholic drinks. In Belgium the efforts of the superintendent of public instruction have been rewarded by the introduction of the study of the effect of alcoholic drinks into the schools and by the formation of temperance societies among the older pupils, whose members pledge themselves to total abstinence during the years of their minority. Little time was given to the legal aspect of the subject. But wherever the law had been invoked it was proved that its effects were in every way beneficial.

The Jubilee of the Free Church of Scotland. The recent semi-centennial celebration of this Church has freshly brought to light the thrilling history of its origin and progress. Its *raison d'être* was the determination of Dr. Chalmers and others like minded with himself to cultivate deep piety and to keep open eye and hand for the needs of the times. Four hundred and seventy-four preachers and four hundred teachers gave up positions in the Established Church for conscience' sake. At present the Free Church numbers 1,169 preachers, 341,306 members. In the fifty years \$115,000,000 have been raised and paid for church purposes. Forty-eight millions went to the support of the pastors, eighteen millions have gone into church edifices and parsonages, and about an equal amount for foreign missions. The Church has three theological seminaries, and missions in India, Syria, Arabia, and Africa. They have gradually approached nearer to the Methodist form of doctrine. They have awakened the State Church to new life and activity, and the old feeling of hostility between the Free and the State Church has given place to a warm feeling of friendship.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE facts that face us in the financial world and the consequent sufferings of many thousands of unemployed men, whose only dependence for support is their labor, may well engage the best thoughts of the political economist, the statesman, and the citizen, and call loudly for the sympathy that the circumstances demand. It is not for us under the gloom that prevails to justify the hostility of one class or condition toward another, as if either were responsible for the depression we suffer, or as if either could by its own power effect the change which the employers and the employed alike deplore and of which they both are alike innocent. If the employed have lost their wages the employers have lost their gains from labor, if not with them their fortunes. With reference to this condition in the industrial world current literature seeks to construe facts and overcome difficulties for which time only can afford the solution. Thus the *Fortnightly Review* for November contains a searching article on the "Psychology of Labor and Capital." The writer says that if socialists and others who "complain of the present unequal distribution of wealth," could have their way "the capitalist could be extinguished." He thinks, however, that the capitalist will remain, and declares that it is better for the laborer to "beware of killing the layer of the golden eggs." He adds that labor may "pass the point where its own strength and capital's patience break down and an encounter may ensue, in which it will have the worst." And still further he says, "Legislation does not, like socialism, aim at extinguishing the capitalist, but at regulating him." Next the *Catholic World* for November has an article on the "Social and Industrial World." The author discusses a report on the "Labor Question in the United States," drawn up by order of the queen and presented to both houses of Parliament. His article considers the relations between capital and labor organizations, and treats of the eight-hour movement, showing that where it has been introduced workers have had more regular occupation, and that there has been an increase of ten per cent in the number employed. The *North American Review* for November also contains an article on the "Productivity of the Individual." The writer follows the line of argument in a former number, where he inquires, "Who are the Greatest Wealth Producers?" He aims to show that "the larger part of the goods or commodities produced in the modern world are produced by the exercise, not of the universal faculty of labor, but of those mental and moral faculties by which labor is directed and stimulated and which are exercised and possessed by comparatively few persons, and that thus, whereas according to the prevailing view the few live on what is produced by the many, the truth is that the many—in other words, the wage-earning laborers—derive a large part of their wages from what is produced by the few." Such are some of the articles on capital and labor in the current Reviews, which are worthy of mention.

Do not reason and observation alike tell us that there is no necessary ground of hostility or justification of jealousy between those who stand in these different relations to each other. Wrong, indeed, may be found on the side of either the employer or the employed. But it is in the individual rather than in the relationship. And the past should impress the fact that anarchy and communism are not the cure but the aggravation of our ills. Since the employed are prone to cite the disparity between their condition and that of the employer as a reason why there should be a division of income as well as the payment of wages, is it not as just to assume they should divide or share the loss when the employer suffers it? And is it not true that the superior workman does not feel it his duty to divide his greater wages with his inferior fellow-workman? It is, moreover, a notable fact that, while the last few years have shown cases of greater wealth than other days exhibited, the laboring man has found reward for labor such as was not dreamed of in times within the memory of many. When the skilled laborer, the mechanic of nearly all trades, received \$30 per month, his hours of labor were from sunrise to sunset, and half the year in shops, factories, and elsewhere mechanical labor continued till eight o'clock at night. Twelve months' constant work yielded \$360. Now in many instances it affords more than \$1,000. There is no such difference in cost of living. If capital, genius, and energy have wrought such change let us trust divine Providence, with legislation and the adoption of such means as time and wisdom will suggest. God reigns, and he has not forgotten the laborer.

THE *Contemporary Review* for November treats of: 1. "The Political Situation in France;" 2. "The Parish Councils Bill;" 3. "Mashonaland and Its People;" 4. "Christianity and Mohammedanism;" 5. "The English Poor Law and Old Age;" 6. "Priest and Altar in the English Church;" 7. "Dramatic Criticism;" 8. "The Geographical Evolution of the North Sea;" 9. "The Conference of Colonial Members;" 10. "The Problem of the Family in the United States;" 11. "Urgency in Siam;" 12. "The Miners' Battle and After." Of the many interesting and well-written articles in this number of the *Contemporary* perhaps there is none deserving of more careful thought than the tenth. The problem of the family in the United States comes home to the heart of anyone who loves his country or honors his home. Dr. Dike, in the article, says, "The part of the family in the development of the social order, its present universality and power, and its direct interest in every social change fully justify" the claim made by an eminent English scholar, who recently wrote that "one might almost say that the family is the fundamental and permanent problem of human society." The "divorce question" commands the author's close attention, and he traces with great precision the notice it received at an early period in our government, and shows the action of many States, and also the difficulties that face every attempt to conform the decisions of law and the legislation of common-

wealths to a legitimate demand. The rigor of Canada in this matter is shown and the salutary result is stated. The large number of divorces in other countries, as France, Prussia, and Hungary, is contrasted with the comparatively few in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. Looking to this restriction of divorces to the minimum, the educational work of the family, with its hindrances, is pointed out; but its necessity is argued with the force of facts.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for October contains: 1. "The Palace of Pan;" 2. "A Cabinet Minister's *Vale Mecum*;" 3. "Setting the Poor on Work;" 4. "Through the Khyber Pass;" 5. "Dr. Pearson on the Modern Drama;" 6. "The Position of Geology;" 7. "The Archaic Statues of the Acropolis Museum;" 8. "The Transformation of Japan;" 9. "A Study for Colonel Newcome;" 10. "Théophraste Renaudot;" 11. "The Parsees;" 12. "New Ways with Old Offenders;" 13. "The Gospel of Peter;" 14. "Aspects of Tennyson." The third article, on "Setting the Poor on Work," is elaborate and timely. The various expedients suggested have in view the "advantage which would accrue to the nation from the constant employment of industrious peasants and craftsmen," and the desirability of securing to industry and skill the benefits rightfully theirs. All considerations will urgently unite in not allowing this question to sleep. The providence of God, the wisdom of men of means, and the energy of the unemployed will all have a part in bringing about a result for which so many think and speak and write and pray. The twelfth article, "New Ways with Old Offenders," exhibits great earnestness, but names many means of dealing with the guilty which have failed in the past. The future must show what the past has demonstrated, that no means can accomplish the end sought so long as "old offenders" do not accept the proffered advantages.

THE *North American Review* for November, besides the article on the "Productivity of the Individual" already noticed, shows in its other papers an aim to keep before its readers subjects suggested by the times. Their treatment is direct and vigorous. Among its interesting discussions is the symposium on the "Struggle in the Senate," containing a paper on "Misrepresentations," by Senator William M. Stewart, and one on "Obstructions," by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. "The Wealth of New York," by its mayor, is the third of a series discussing the elements of the city's prosperity. The writer says, "It is impossible to believe or even to suppose that the limit of prosperity has been reached." "Pool Rooms and Pool Selling," by Anthony Comstock, is a clear exhibit of facts which call for the best efforts of all who would save society from evils seen and deplored by right-minded people. "Social Relations of the Insane," by Dr. Henry Smith Williams, is an article full of information such as we should be glad to obtain. Mind, in all its conditions and manifestations, is a study. A diseased intellect is one of the most difficult

things to treat, and skillful men are sometimes reproached that they cannot accomplish impossibilities in the treatment of such patients. "Let no one," says the writer, "suppose that an insane person is commonly sent to an asylum because of his insanity *per se*. Mere mental perversion would be but little, if at all, noticed by the law so long as it stopped at that." Yet no one can tell where it will stop. But to whatever limits the patient may go he is not necessarily guiltless. For all insanity does not destroy responsibility, by the showing of Dr. Williams.

THE *Canadian Methodist Quarterly Review* for October contains articles well adapted to the purposes of the review, and that must exert the desired influence on the intellect and heart. The first discussion is on "Bowne's Ethics," and is incisive and thorough. The quotations given from the Professor's work show "the aim of the author and of the deep spiritual conceptions underlying not only the treatise on ethics, but his entire treatment of the problems of philosophy. Together they constitute one of the best antidotes to the shallow materialism that masquerades in the name of science and philosophy." "Consciousness," by Dr. H. H. Moore, impresses us. Among the definitions of consciousness that he gives is one by Dr. Noah Porter that commends itself for its simplicity and directness. It is "the power by which the soul knows its own states and acts." Dr. Moore says, "Consciousness, as a *faculty*, is the same in the Hottentot and Eskimo," but adds, "Diverse experiences may make their contents wholly unlike each other."

THE November number of the *Homiletic Review* has the same fullness of thought, variety of subjects, and excellence of topics that we have been accustomed to see in its monthly issues. "Tennyson's Poetry: its Value to the Minister;" "Lessons from the Life of Spurgeon;" "The Soul's Thirst and Satisfaction;" and "The Kind of a Church Jesus Christ Would Have on the Earth To-day," will interest the student, edify the believer, and rouse the preacher to a high sense of his holy obligations.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for October has: 1. "The Causes of Pessimism;" 2. "The Unemployed;" 3. "Atoms and Sunbeams;" 4. "The Royal Road to History;" 5. "The Balance of Trade;" 6. "The Industrial Position of Women;" 7. "The Pomaks of Rhodope;" 8. "University Systems;" 9. "Electric Fishes;" 10. "Notes of a Journey in South Italy;" 11. "The Silver Question;" 12. "Correspondence." The first of these subjects discussed, "Causes of Pessimism," will justify as much thought as he who would reach, expose, and remove them can give. The writer states: "There is said to be a strain of pessimism noticeable in the writings of the last few years. Sometimes it takes the form of despondency as to the future of humanity at large or of a particular people. Sometimes it rather seems to indicate perplexity over some great moral problem. Now

and again it is a regret over some system or faith that has disappeared and which, it would seem, cannot be replaced." Authors are cited as illustrations of this statement. After giving various facts that have operated in reference to governments, systems, and individuals, he concludes in the statement that "the pessimistic tone of mind is not so much due to any single cause as to the despondency caused by a sense of impending and inevitable doom, or, now and again, to the reaction from oversanguine hopes." Mental depression, from whatever cause, enervates, and whether it show itself in relation to State or Church, science or faith, is sometimes found to free its subject from the sense of responsibility which is an essential characteristic of the patriot, the Christian, and the man. The second article, "The Unemployed," and the sixth, "The Industrial Position of Women," discuss questions of such magnitude as to command the attention of all interested in equity. — The *Preachers' Magazine* for November, if approached as a spiritual armory, will furnish any weapon the minister may need for making war on the enemy of souls. It opens on "Present-day Preaching," with a sermon, by Dr. John Hall, which suggests the grandeur of this ordinance. A discourse, by Rev. Mark Guy Pearce, impresses the reader with the magnitude of Christ's work and his power in casting out devils and saving men. — The November number of the *Methodist Magazine*, like its predecessors, fills the eye and interests the mind with religious literature and social progress. In "Tent Life in Palestine," the editor, by the sketching of his pen and the illustrations on the pages, makes a graphic exhibit. In the article "With the Monks at St. Bernard," by S. H. M. Byers, we have an instructive account of monastic life. "Medical Missions," by Dr. J. V. Smith, are declared to be "the picture language of the Church militant" that all can understand.

THE *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for October has: 1. "The Limits of Papal Infallibility;" 2. "Indian Bibliographies;" 3. "The Age of the Human Race According to Modern Science and Biblical Chronology;" 4. "The Church in Her History;" 5. "Harnack's Dogmatic History;" 6. "The Idea of Evolution;" 7. "The Newest Ritualism in England;" 8. "The Chuniac and his Song;" 9. "Reunion or Submission;" 10. "University Colleges: their Origin and their Methods;" 11. "How Words Change their Meaning;" 12. "Scientific Chronicle." This number is full of excellent things, and along the many lines of its thought exhibits great ability. Its first article, "The Limits of Papal Infallibility" shows the doctrine of Catholicism, as to where the pope is and where he is not infallible. The writer does not "assume the task of proving the dogma of infallibility." The Roman pontiff, "when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, discharging the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, in virtue of his supreme authority, he defines a doctrine on faith or morals, to be held by the universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, possesses that infallibility with which

the divine Redeemer wished his Church to be endowed in the definition of doctrine regarding faith or morals; and therefore the definitions of the Roman pontiff are of themselves, and not owing to the consent of the Church, irreformable." Infallibility means, in other words, "doctrinal inerrancy in a certain capacity and under certain adjuncts." The "limits as well as the extent of papal infallibility" are given "as contained in the Vatican definition." The sixth article discusses the "Idea of Evolution." In this the writer logically confounds Herbert Spencer on the very ground Spencer has taken with regard to the first cause of all things. It is keen, close, logical, conclusive.

THE *Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* for October discusses such subjects as are appropriate to its title. Its many articles show close inquiry, earnest research, and vigorous thought. "Faith and Criticism" is the notice of certain essays written by distinguished Congregationalists, and contains much food that nourishes to eternal life. Truth is shown to maintain its power when criticism is the most severe. The "latest critical researches" only tend to "establish the historicity of the New Testament narratives both in respect to the life of Christ and the age of the apostles."

THE *Fortnightly Review* for November has among its many articles of interest one on "The Psychology of Labor and Capital," by Robert Wallace, M.P. It contains material to command the closest thought of the philanthropist, the moralist, and the Christian.—The *Globe* for September to December contains articles of great weight and worth.—The *Edinburgh Review* for October has the qualities that a "critical journal" should show on the many themes it discusses.—The *New Jerusalem Magazine* for November has among its many articles of devout thought a striking one on "Emerson and Swedenborg on the Imagination." The paper is critical and curious and in the faith and spirit of the journal.—The *Missionary Review of the World* for November is marked by even more than its usual fullness of thought and force of statement. The first article is by Dr. A. T. Pierson, on "Thy Kingdom Come." He presents the "world," the "Church," "Israel," the "nations," and the "ages" as the five factors in the New Testament that "stand closely linked with each other and with the kingdom."—The *Treasury of Religious Thought* for November contains as its first article a sermon by Rev. J. Wilson, D.D., a discourse of great beauty, in which he impressively shows the evolution of "Golden Character from Refining Fires." It is as if from the heart of one who has "glorified God in the fires." "Christian Edification," by Dr. Cuyler, forbids gloom and inculcates gladness. "Thoughts for the Hour of Prayer," by Dr. R. S. Storrs, tells with vigor how we may know God's call as to duty we are to discharge, and may readily recognize the divine will. The many articles of this periodical possess strong attractions.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretations: A Study of the Teaching of Jesus and its Doctrinal Transformations in the New Testament. By ORELLO CONE, D.D. 8vo, pp. viii, 413. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, gilt top, \$1.75.

This is a work of marked ability and power. It is written in entire sympathy with the results of the latest rationalistic school. It is a statement of the development of the New Testament theology from that standpoint. But so thoroughly do the principles of naturalism sway the mind of the author that no attempt is made at a scientific interpretation and justification of the contents of the New Testament. That book is cut up and parceled out in the most arbitrary fashion. "In treating the Gospel of Jesus and its earliest interpretations the discussion in this work proceeds upon the judgment that the synoptic gospels are the sole historical records of his teaching; that the fourth gospel contains a transformation of it effected under the influence of Hellenistic thought; that the doctrine of Paul must be derived from Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, and Philippians; that Hebrews, Colossians, Ephesians, and 1 Peter are to be classified as Deutero-Pauline writings, composed toward the end of the first century; that 2 Peter, Jude, the pastoral epistles, and the so-called epistles of John are to be regarded as anti-gnostic writings of the early years of the second century." It is something to be thankful for that we have the pure Gospel of Jesus in the first three gospels. But even this is denied us. It is there, but much else is there. Jesus of Nazareth, a religious genius, taught the fatherhood of God and the pure ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. Everything which in the mind of the author is inconsistent with that is a later addition to the gospels. The early chapters of Luke and the apocalyptic discourses in Matthew are thrown out. No attempt is made at an appreciation or interpretation of the deeper portions of the first gospel. These parts are simply discarded with impatience as the dreams of Jewish Christian enthusiasts. The first gospel is written in the interest of the Judaizing party; and yet this is the gospel in which the loving ethics of Christ find most complete expression, as well as the doctrine of God's universal fatherhood, and the intimations of the world-wide intention of the new religion. Our author does not explain this. Of course he holds that Christ never uttered Matt. xxviii, 19, 20. The original gospel had nothing to say of faith as a condition of salvation. This is such a glaring misstatement that even the author unconsciously contradicts it in the statement that Jesus taught that "man is to cast himself upon God in trust and love," and that "faith in God occupies the foremost place" in his teachings. In speaking of Luke xiv, 26, another spurious passage, as the author thinks, we are told that Jesus "never required of his immediate disciples the breaking of sacred ties of kindred," and that "to his

whole teaching hatred in any form is opposed." To a writer less able than Dr. Cone such a remark would be set down as childish drivel. On the other hand, the excellent remarks on other hard sayings of Jesus, as the words to the rich young man, show that there is no necessity of getting rid of these portions of the Gospel by the easy method of referring them to later times. The low conception of Jesus cannot endure the detailed prophecies of Christ's death, which are also later additions. There is nothing of a sacrificial nature in Christ's death; therefore Matt. xx, 28, xxvi, 28—in the teeth of text-criticism—are to be eliminated. The sterner teachings of Jesus are not to be accepted. His explicit statements of punishment in the future life have no special significance for us; but we may infer boundless possibilities of good for the future from those parables which have no direct reference to the future life at all! Anything can be made out by such arbitrary methods as those which Dr. Cone has adopted. Think of a Shakespearean critic going through the plays, and in total disregard of textual criticism cutting out whatever may seem to him unworthy of the poet dramatist. In the last chapter Dr. Cone has some hard words to say about Christian theology. But let us assure him that there is a dogmatism just as unscientific as that which he denounces in Christian believers. It is the thoroughly rationalistic prepossessions of the author, who is the president of Buchtel College, a Universalist institution at Akron, O., which make him unable to do justice to the New Testament theology. The work contains many just criticisms, but is vitiated by its purely naturalistic standpoint. Among those well-considered observations, however, we cannot count the section on the Book of Revelation—that "lurid" and "mythological" Apocalypse which is unworthy the study of any Christian, nor the reasons given for the rejection of one of the most characteristically Pauline of all the writings of the poet-apostle—the Ephesians. The expressions, "dead in trespasses," "made alive in Christ," "forgiveness of sins," "to be brought near," "belong to the later Paulinism of Hebrews and Colossians, and not to the genuine epistles of the apostle." The thoughts set forth by the above expressions are thoroughly Pauline, but Paul must, forsooth, use the same phraseology in every epistle.

What is Inspiration? A Fresh Study of the Question, with New and Discriminative Replies. By JOHN DEWITT, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., for many years Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., and Author of *The Psalms: A New Translation with Notes*, etc. 12mo, pp. vii, 187. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Price, \$1.

This is a book of mediation by a venerable and learned biblical scholar. It stands midway between rationalism and ultra-conservatism. It is a word of peace. Occasioned by the Briggs trial, it is written, the author says, in response to the "obligation of those who have rejected the theory of verbal inspiration, as not in accordance with what they find by the most careful scrutiny of the contents of the Bible, to furnish with the least possible delay a definition that shall replace it as consistent with undeniable fact, and thus quiet the prevailing agitation." A spirit of

peace and confidence—"the full assurance of faith"—breathes through Dr. DeWitt's work. For this reason its frankness is the less to be wondered at. Take, for example, this: "In our Lord's frequent references to the Old Testament verbal accuracy is practically treated as not of the slightest consequence. He refers constantly to translations in common use among the Jews, never hinting that their value is impaired by erroneous rendering; although very often, and in important places, they go very far astray from what could be the meaning of the original. The Septuagint version is much nearer to the Scriptures indorsed by our Saviour and his apostles than the received Hebrew text; for they generally quote from the former, and only occasionally from the Hebrew, or from some Aramaic version which in the gospels is translated into Greek." After a clear, full, and careful discussion the author reaches his definition, the answer to the question of his book. He prints it in italics, and he evidently desires every word to be weighed: "Inspiration is a special energy of the Spirit of God upon the mind and heart of selected and prepared human agents, which does not destroy nor impair their native and normal activities nor miraculously enlarge the boundaries of their knowledge, except where essential to the inspiring purpose, but stimulates and assists them to a clear discernment and faithful utterance of truth and fact, and, when necessary, brings within their range truth or fact which could not otherwise have been known. By such direction and aid, through spoken or written words in combination with any divinely ordered circumstances with which they may be historically interwoven, the result contemplated in the purpose of God is realized in a progressive revelation of his wisdom, righteousness, and grace for the instruction and moral elevation of men. The revelation so produced is permanent and infallible for all matters of faith and practice, except so far as any given revelation may be manifestly partial, provisional, and limited in its time and conditions, or may be afterward modified or superseded by a higher and fuller revelation, adapted to an advanced period in the redemptive process to which all revelation relates as its final end and glorious consummation." Dr. DeWitt has done his work with admirable skill. This calm, strong, and comprehensive discussion by a capable and conservative scholar of a conservative Church is intended to have a quieting effect in the present crisis. It would seem to show that such trials as those of Drs. Briggs and Smith are not likely to transpire in the old Reformed (Dutch) Church. Dr. DeWitt's book furnishes to those who wish it a brief treatment of a vexed question by a profound, devout, and lifelong student of the oracles of God. We cannot forbear quoting his own testimony as to the effect of his ever-growing familiarity with Scripture. There is nothing better in his book than this. He says: "I have spent the larger portion of my active life in giving instruction in the Old and New Testaments, separately and in their connection. Every year and month and day they have become more precious, and all labor in developing their glorious import and their significance in connection with every aspiration and hope of man has become more absorbing."

What stronger proof of the divinity of the Bible than such testimony from such a source? Of what other book in the world could an exhaustive student and accomplished scholar by any conceivable possibility so speak?

Vox Dei, The Doctrine of the Spirit as it is Set Forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. By R. A. REDFORD, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics, New College, London. 12mo, pp. 344. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, \$1.

This is a praiseworthy endeavor to bring into greater prominence and clearness the doctrine of the personality and power of the Holy Spirit. In the author's opinion, which we cannot wholly share, the Church of Christ is in a bad way at the present time, spiritual power lacking, doubt on our very banners, little heroism, little courage. And "one reason of this decline of spiritual energy in the Church" (which decline we, for our part, fail to perceive) he thinks must be "the faulty and inadequate understanding of the doctrine of the Spirit." This "cloudiness of conception and weakness of conviction among Christians on the whole subject" he sets himself to remedy. And in the main the task is well done. The style is clear, the subject well laid out, the entire impression wholesome. The exposition of the numerous passages brought under consideration is in full accordance with the traditional views, and the reader will at no point be startled by any novelties or have his mind unduly exercised. The author, as he says in the preface, "has avoided scholastic discussions; his aim has been practical." We do not think it would have hurt the book, considering that it will be read mainly by the ministerial and literary class, if a little more scholarship had been put into it. On all the points at issue between the Bible students of past ages and investigators of the present day the author sides with the former. * Even a passage like Acts xix, 2, which modern scholars, we think, are substantially agreed should be rendered, as in the Revised Version, "Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?" he quotes in the old translation, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" which gives a very different, and, it seems to us, entirely erroneous turn to the incident. But the chief criticism we are disposed to make is on his forcing the doctrine of the Trinity into all the passages of the Old Testament where the Spirit of God is mentioned. He says: "We take it for granted that there is one doctrine of the Spirit pervading the whole revelation;" "The central fact of Christianity goes back to the first page of Genesis;" "There is no difference in the doctrine of the Spirit which is taught all through this long series of books;" "If the Book of Genesis were the only sacred book we possessed we should certainly have no difficulty in putting together from its pages a very decided doctrine of the Spirit;" "The God of Genesis is certainly a triune God." Because the sacred writer puts into the mouth of Pharaoh, speaking of Joseph, the words, "Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?" Dr. Redford holds that "the doctrine of the Spirit," meaning the New Testament Christian doctrine, "was clearly

recognized at that time." All this may possibly be so. But we are inclined to put a large interrogation point opposite many of these strong assertions. Is it worth while to strain the language to this extent and crowd into it what the speakers and writers could not, by any fair principles of interpretation, be understood to have meant? The author shows plainly enough that Judaism was, to a large extent, a spiritual religion, and that Jehovah was represented as a Spirit; but when he proceeds from such facts as these to argue that Judaism was trinitarian thoughtful minds will hesitate to follow. Biblical theology is more and more coming to the front in these days. Very patiently, and with increasing success, the attempt is being made to find out just what the men of those ancient times really thought. What we think now, as the result of our philosophizing and systematizing, or, if any prefer to put it so, as the result of all the divine teachings up to the present, is quite another thing, not to be confounded with the former. The author, in our opinion, is to some extent subject to this confusion.

Jesus and Modern Life. By M. J. SAVAGE. With an Introduction by Professor CRAWFORD H. TOY. 12mo, pp. 229. Boston: George H. Ellis. Price, cloth, \$1.

We have here a somewhat famous course of sermons preached during the past year at the Church of the Unity, Boston, and extensively reported in the daily papers. They are thirteen in number, and treat of such topics as "What Jesus Taught about God;" "Jesus's Doctrine of Nonresistance;" "Jesus and the Christ Ideals;" "Christianity and the Doctrine of Jesus." From the standpoint of evangelical Christianity it is a very curious and far from satisfactory or pleasing book. Not that Mr. Savage, once a Congregational minister and now a Unitarian of the most radical sort, takes any pleasure in shocking the orthodox after the coarse, vulgar style of Paine and Ingersoll. On the contrary, he professes the utmost admiration for Jesus. "There is no one in this city that loves the Nazarene more than I do," he says. Nevertheless, the patronizing tone of one who sits in judgment, with a touch of conscious superiority, dealing out praise here and blame there—"Jesus was not an infallible teacher;" "Taught almost nothing that was new or original;" "Nothing specially intellectual in his teaching;" "I do not think he could have been perfect if he was tempted;" "No man ought to obey his doctrine of not worrying about the future taken literally;" "A wonderful man;" "Among the very greatest of all time"—is certainly offensive, although, of course, not intentionally so. He treats the gospel records, as might be supposed, with the utmost recklessness, and creates a Jesus to his own liking that ordinary Bible Christians would quite fail to recognize. He summarily dismisses the miraculous and supernatural, and everything else that does not suit his ideas or fit in with his theories. "The gospel of John has no authenticity or authority; it is a philosophical treatise written nearly a hundred and fifty years after Jesus." The other gospels, according to our author, were written "from forty to fifty years after the death of Jesus," and were the products of

an "idealizing tendency working on the facts of the simple life of the son of the carpenter." Truly "a Daniel come to judgment!" It is hardly worth while to take up space in these pages to controvert or even chronicle the views of a writer of this stamp. Two points, however, are noteworthy and interesting. Both are connected with what is ever the insoluble problem in all such books, namely, how to account for this peerless personage and his marvelous work in the world under a theory that rules out the miraculous and classifies him with other religious leaders. Mr. Savage, in his sermon entitled "The Man of Nazareth," essays what, from his point of view, he rightly calls "the immensely difficult task of trying to suggest wherein resided the secret of his power." He mentions four things—"the God-consciousness of the man;" "an enthusiastic love for humanity;" "an indefinable personal fascination," and "a charm of speech." This is all. He is forced to confess that it is an "utterly inadequate" explanation of that which he admits has "changed the face of the civilization of the world." He is obliged to fall back on the idea that "just about the time when Christianity appeared the world-conditions were such that a new religion must have been born anyhow, even if there had been no Jesus of Nazareth at all, and that the new religious movement, if Jesus had not been born, would have attached itself to some other historic person, and would have pursued substantially the same course which it has followed down the ages from that day to this." This may be regarded, we suppose, as the latest of the multitudinous attempts to *explain* that which is inexplicable, and to give us a Christianity with no divine Christ. They who like this sort of thing are certainly welcome to it. But how they can propound it in the name of reason, and consider that it presents fewer obstacles to belief than the orthodox account, is a mystery. With one more example of the difficulties and inconsistencies that beset this theory we leave the book. On page 76 Jesus is said to be "only the child of his time, child of his people and age, with no teaching except that which he could gather out of the surroundings of the life of which he was a part." But on page 114 we are told what this age was which must have the credit of forming Jesus, "an age of narrowness, an age of bitterness, an age of ceremonial, such as the world had hardly ever seen." This is true. Yet, according to Mr. Savage and his class, this miserable age, this narrow people, this country village, this carpenter's family produced Jesus, one whom all these nineteen centuries with their boasted breadth and enlightenment have failed to match, one before whom the religious part of the most civilized nations of the earth still delight to bow, and whose name the lapse of time only serves to lift into higher honor. Believe it who can. We prefer to hold that Jesus was in large part the product of quite another region than Galilee, that he came from heaven to show us infallibly the way thither and to bring life and immortality to light. And this faith, if we mistake not, gives results both in personal peace and in national prosperity which all the rationalistic vaporings and surmisings of those who reject the creed of Christendom fail to supply.

The Song of Songs. An Inspired Melodrama. Analyzed, Translated, and Explained by MILTON S. TERRY, D.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute. 12mo, pp. 64. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, paper, 25 cents.

Dr. Terry finds in this book of the Bible an exquisite dramatic poem, "the obvious purpose of which is to celebrate the passion of human love." His view is that the heroine of the drama is a fair young maiden of northern Palestine, whom King Solomon has sought in vain to win, and who, resisting royal blandishments, remains true to her shepherd lover. He does not regard the book as a portraiture or parable of the love existing between God and his people or of Christ's relation to the Church, nor does he believe that it celebrates the marriage of Solomon with Pharaoh's daughter. He thinks it not improbable, and no way unfit, that the author of the Song of Songs is a woman, some gifted female poet, who sings in this sacred drama the pure, unwavering love of a woman's heart. Dr. Terry analyzes the drama, divides it into acts and scenes, and assigns the various parts to the proper *dramatis personæ*. In certain places he disregards the Masoretic pointing, and corrects the text to conform to the theory which the weight of evidence compels him to adopt. In his concluding observations the author, who ranks among eminent biblical scholars, says: "A diligent study of this beautiful song admonishes us that we should not come to the perusal of the Holy Scriptures with *a priori* notions of what they ought or ought not to contain. Nor are we at liberty to assume, on dogmatic grounds, any theory of divine inspiration which interferes with the free investigation of the biblical writings. Criticism has its rights, and when controlled by sound judgment and sincere desire to know the truth will lead us to a deeper appreciation as well a clearer understanding of the Scriptures." It is the glory and the joy of Christian scholarship to render inestimable service to mankind by such clear and beautiful interpretations of misunderstood portions of the Bible. Those who do this work are high servants of God and large benefactors of the human race.

Exegetical Studies. The Pentateuch and Isaiah. By HENRY WHITE WARREN, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo, pp. 46. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, flexible, 40 cents.

The author's characteristic abundance of keen and powerful life pours its fullness into these studies. They are electrically lighted with auroral flashes of comprehension and darts of spiritual intuition. The dear and sacred truth contained in the divine book is revered with rational adoration and prostrate obeisance, touched fondly with all the holy affection of the soul, and rejoiced in with irrepressible exultation. How any human mind can study the Bible with such illuminating helps as these and not be caught up into the same enthusiasm for revealed truth and for all sacred things, passes our comprehension; indeed, we doubt if any such can be found; the people who have not come under the mighty and mastering spell of the truth are the people who have not properly studied the book which contains it. We fearlessly call for a single instance that can invalidate the universal truth of that affirmation. The Professor of

the English Bible in Denver University is a gifted interpreter and expositor. His exegetical studies lead out of perplexities into perceptions. Although we could make this page sparkle with extracts we dare not enter on quotation lest the reasons which led us to extract a part might compel us to quote the whole. We simply note the declaration that, in regard to the controverted points concerning the Pentateuch and Isaiah, "conservative students of God's word have as yet no call to surrender."

The Holy Waiting. The Christian's Handbook in the Church of God and for Home Meditation and Prayer. By Bishop JOHN HEYL VINCENT, D.D. 16mo, pp. 90. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, 50 cents; leather, 75 cents.

This is a manual of devout meditation and worship for the individual. It is highly adapted to promote the ends it seeks in guiding the mind to such clear and vivid conceptions of truth as shall fill the worshiper with reverence, cause the heart to be duly affected toward sacred things, and uplift the soul in comforting and blissful devotion. For travelers by land or sea, for invalids, sufferers, and other prisoners of Providence who are forbidden the privileges of the sanctuary, this little book is well calculated to make the place where they are as the house of God and the gate of heaven. For the young Christian it is full of instruction, wisdom, and help in its preparations, rules, prayers, covenants, confessions, consecrations, creeds, explanations, quickening thoughts, liturgies, and Te Deums. It may teach laymen and ministers how to pray to edification in private and in public. We know of no better book of its kind. It is worthy of being committed to memory from beginning to end. He who had its words upon his tongue would have the peace of God in his heart.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Principles of Economics. The Satisfaction of Human Wants, so Far as they Can be Satisfied by Labor and Material Resources. By GROVER PEASE OSBORNE, A.M. Crown 8vo, cloth, postage paid, \$2. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.

Mr. Osborne has produced a new work on economic science, but not a new economic science. The point of view and the treatment are sufficiently original, and the style deserves the highest praise: Not since Adam Smith has any economic writer attained to such perfect clearness. Let us at once quote an example taken from page 78. "Diminishing returns does not mean a smaller return from land, but a smaller return from labor; not a smaller return from labor in factories, but a smaller return from labor on land." This does not purport to be a definition, but it is probably the best one ever made for the principle of diminishing returns. This lucidity is found throughout the work; we have found no passage clouded by obscurity. The terms of this science are carefully explained, and any boy may read most of the work understandingly. The exceptional portions are not in the least obscure; the boy would need to know some things about money, for example, which are not here stated; that is to say, he would need a mature experience to

understand what is stated. The new point of view is gained by entering the economic field on the side of human wants. It affords an opportunity for a semiethical treatment of the subject, and the author adopts with a justification of his method a didactic and ethical tone. What ought to be done, not what comes to pass, in economic life is the real theme within the theme. The "principles" are severely orthodox, even to the inclusion of the Malthusian theory of population; but the author would have us check the economic tendencies by righteous interference of society and government. There is, however, a serious difficulty in the term wants. It may mean a desire or a need, and ethically the two things widely diverge. Economists generally treat of wants as nearly the same thing as desires; but that lets in immoral desires, or demand for things which are not good for us. Nearly every economist flounders on this Ass's bridge of the science; and we cannot think that Mr. Osborne has crossed the bridge with his usual felicity of definition. The difficulty is there to stay; it is in the subject-matter; and all that the economist can do is to turn over to the preacher the reproof and correction of immoral desires; but this leaves in doubt the wisdom of hanging a treatise on economics upon the word wants. But the novel point of view is so useful to an ethical economist, and it brings into the field of vision such a number of neglected facts, that we easily forget the initial difficulty of it. For example, in the process of satisfying our wants by labor it comes about that an enormous amount of effort is expended in our homes by wives, by mothers, by ourselves; all which labor escapes the vision of the economist looking too exclusively at the facts of exchange. And this view has a further consolation for us in the ease with which it sets aside the stupid expression "nonproducers"—of old applied to teachers, preachers, and writers; they are supplying human wants, and that clothes them with economic respectability. For most of his readers the charm of Mr. Osborne's book will come out of his discussion of practical questions actually before the American people. The land question is very fully treated and the author's position is substantially that of John Stuart Mill: the land belongs to society, but its "improvements" belong to the private owner of them. It is, however, ethically impossible for American society to recover what it has sold and given title to; but government lands ought hereafter to be rented. Many of the difficulties of this question are treated with freshness and candor. However, it should be noted that he seems not to know how deep the tax collector now cuts into income from land in cities, and he exaggerates the possible income from city lots. The author's discussion of money leans toward radicalism, though resting on orthodox ground. He advocates bimetallism, and thinks a gold standard perilous; and yet he gives no "reasons" which are not answered in his own text. On page 327 he writes: "A paper money increases the total supply of money. It is the same as an increase in the supply of gold and silver, which, of course, reduces their value. The value of gold depends on the supply and demand for all purposes; if paper is substituted for one of its uses, the effect is the same as an increase in the

supply of gold." It would seem, then, that dropping out silver as standard money, but using the same amount of it as substitute money, would have no tendency to increase the value of gold. Nor is it either orthodox or ethical to assert that the safer and happier order is a slight and constant fall in the value of money—and rise of prices—because it stimulates enterprise. The world would better learn to live without stimulants of an artificial sort. And current changes in the value of money—up or down—within tolerable limits, cannot seriously affect enterprise of legitimate kinds. The real and immense difficulty is presented by deferred payments. No man can know what purchasing power a dollar will have five years hence, and we hazard the suggestion that the difficulty is insurmountable. Possibly prices tend to lower levels through competition and the incessant rearrangement of the relative value of commodities. Somewhere here a factor not yet studied is at work upon price in exchange. The question of unrestricted immigration affords the author a fine field for his ethical views, and his strong argument against it is as calm and clear as it is strong. America for the Americans and all good Europeans of our stock is a sensible and patriotic platform, and it is undergirded by sound economic timbers. Our way of handling the Chinese among us is an abominable way; possible we ought to have shut the door against excessive and unregulated immigration from any quarter before these orientals came in. The author of this book advocates cooperation, but suggests that the laborers of least skill would, under a successful system, still receive only wages. We have found this work thoroughly sensible and exceptionally readable. The orthodox economic theory has seldom put on so cheerful a dress. As Mr. Osborne describes it no one would suspect it of being "a dismal science," partly because the orthodoxy is toned up by some radical color.

Joys Beyond the Threshold. A Sequel to the To-morrow of Death. By LOUIS FIGUIER. Translated by ABEY LANGDON ALGER. 16mo, pp. 321. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

This is a very singular book indeed, a book which could not have been produced, we think, by any other than a countryman of Jules Verne. We cannot honestly call it a valuable volume, and are somewhat at a loss to know why it should have been deemed worth while to translate and print it in this country. Whatever worth it may have consists in its disclosure of the sort of stuff which they who reject the Christian revelation are driven to resort to that they may find some comfort in contemplating the hereafter. The author says: "None of the religions now existing is fitted to banish from the heart of man the forbidding fears inspired by the idea of death; none can inspire a man with courage to face with steadfast eye and quiet soul the moment of his end." So he steps jauntily in to fill the gap, and supply the need. He does it with the air of a man who can at any time, before breakfast, if necessary, invent a better religion than those now professed on the earth, which, he declares, "do not satisfy the heart or mind." "These dogmas," he adds, "con-

ceived at a period of universal ignorance, are absolutely opposed to the laws of nature, and to sustain their worn-out scaffolding we have nothing but a would-be revelation and faith—that is to say, words very ingeniously invented to cut short all discussion, to deify absurdity, to sanctify an impossibility.” He condescends to intimate that Christianity is better than the other religions, which are described at great length; but still its legends are utterly unworthy of credence. “Every one knows that the Nazarene was not the founder of the religion which bears his name; that he wrote nothing, originated nothing. The Christian religion was created, not by Jesus, but by St. Paul, who, having been one of Christ’s bitterest foes, became his most fervent apostle, and founded Christianity as a religion.” We are further informed that “French, English, and American Protestants may be divided into two sects, Orthodox or Methodists, who are but latent adherents of Catholicism, and liberal Protestants. The liberal Christian is, in the religious order, the direct disciple of Jesus Christ.” Perhaps it is this last bit of flattery which has induced the liberal Christians to take up this book. They are quite welcome to it and its consolations. For ourselves we prefer those supplied by the Church, though our author, with customary bombast, says of these latter, “They are infinitely inferior to those assured the dying man of our system.” The reader will have a natural curiosity to know what this much-vaunted system is. We will sketch it briefly in the language of its creator. The soul of man is to undergo after death a succession of transmigrations and celestial resurrections. He is to be reincarnated in a chain of new beings whose successive links are unrolled in the bosom of ethereal space, the space which divides the planets from the stars, and which is to be the habitat of these superhuman beings. “There the cycle of their transformations is accomplished; that is, their successive deaths, followed by as many new births, with the continual improvements which refine their qualities more and more, and lead them to an increasing state of intellectual power and moral purity, until they have at last attained the height of perfection, which permits them to enter the central star of our world, where they form a part of the solar divinity.” All the planets are also peopled by human beings similar to man. And these various planetary humanities are subject to the same order of organic changes, traversing the phases of successive metamorphoses and progressions till their final entry into the sun. Nor is this all, by any means. The planets belonging to all the distant suns, which we call stars, must have inhabitants who undergo the same organic evolutions which pertain to our earthly humanity. They enter into the substance of their particular star or sun, to compose portions of the solar divinity. “There would thus be as many divinities as fixed stars in the sky. This strangely enlarges our idea of God. It gives us astronomic polytheism, the plurality of gods.” Since all the fixed stars revolve around one central point situated deep in space, this is the point where the supreme God, Jehovah, may be found, hidden in the majesty of worlds. As to the comets, M. Figuiér has this flight of fancy: “Is it forbidden us to believe that certain comets, those which

recenter our solar system, are agglomerations of the souls of superhuman beings who have just accomplished a journey through the deeps of heaven, and are completing their voyage by hastening into the fiery furnace of the sun. According to this hypothesis comets would be the excursion trains of the populations of ethereal space. This gives as complete a view as our limited space permits of the author's audacious speculations and wild conjectures. But, be it noted, he most strenuously insists that these are not mere dreams of the imagination or idle reveries and romantic theories, like the fables of Christianity. O, no. These are "scientific facts." This is philosophy and certainty. We should never have supposed it had he not told us. And we have to take his bare word for it as it is, for the most careful searching of the book has failed to disclose anything which to us, at least, even begins to resemble the scientific proof and chain of facts of which he so loudly boasts. To his mind "the help offered by science and philosophy," that is, by his system, "to take the tremendous step of death is far superior to that presented by any of the existing religions." He is welcome to it. And so are the liberal Christians with whom he seems disposed to class himself. If the prospect of being eventually burnt up or absorbed in the fiery furnace of the sun cheers them more than the views of heaven afforded by St. John, or the many mansions of the Father's house mentioned by Jesus, and if they put more confidence in the so-called scientific conclusions of this French romancer than in the revelations of Him who came from heaven to show men the way thither, we suppose they must use their own liberty. But they will please excuse us from keeping them company. We are more than satisfied with the old book, which tells us more, we believe, about the to-morrow of death and the joys beyond than any Frenchman can spin out of his brain or any German evolve from his inner consciousness.

Elsie, and Other Poems. By ROBERT BEVERLY HALE. 8vo, pp. 104. Boston: R. B. HALE & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.

Fireside poems, forty-two in number. Simple, pleasing, irreproachable, and wholesome sentiments, set in well-turned phrases; beginning with "Elsie," a little girl at play with butterflies and bees under the trees, and ending with "A Plain Workingman's Idea of Heaven," which rejects the notion of rest in an idle heaven, and prays, whether his future be in heaven or earth or hell, "O Father, give me some hard work to do." The strongest piece in the book is "My Fellow-Traveler," which delivers with real power the oft-repeated and ever-needed lesson that as men hope for mercy at the hands of God they should be merciful to one another.

Poems. By EMILY DICKINSON. Edited by two of her Friends, MABEL LOOMIS TODD and T. W. HIGGINSON. Two series in one volume. 16mo, pp. 386. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, white and green cloth, full gilt, \$2.

A dainty and beautiful edition of a volume of poems which might seem fitted only for a select few, but which goes on winning a wide reading. It is difficult to find the adjective with which this poetry may be accurately

described and properly characterized. Weird is scarcely the word, though suggested by some of it, nor quaint, though that is not wide of the mark in places, nor queer, though a clumsy critic might pick up that word; but at least we may say that it seems absolutely original, certainly spontaneous, and undeniably unique. The Brontë sisters might have written something almost like it, but they did not. It casts its contradiction at the ancient declaration that there is nothing new under the sun, helping to put to shame that long-discredited adage which the nineteenth century, along the turnpike of its progress and the bypaths of its diversions, pelts with novelties as if to stone it to death. If the poetry of William Blake was something new, then so is Emily Dickinson's; and there is genius if not likeness in both. In these verses of the recluse poetess of Amherst there is quite enough to explain why the first series has reached its eleventh edition and the second series its sixth. They are as rare in quality, as free from meretriciousness, as pellucid and sincere, as Emerson's. The reader regrets that, by her lifelong refusal to print her poems, all this fame can only fling its laurels on the grave beneath which for seven years and more have been hidden from light and sound the eyes and ears which should have been made glad therewith. These three hundred odd bits and scraps of verse, some only four lines long, are the product of a mind abnormal but not morbid. More might be written of them, and may be elsewhere, but not here nor now. Not unsuitable to quote in this department is the following :

A BOOK.

He ate and drank the precious words,
His spirit grew robust;
He knew no more that he was poor,
Nor that his frame was dust.
He danced along the dingy days,
And this bequest of wings
Was but a book. What liberty
A loosened spirit brings!

The Merrimack River, Hellents and Other Poems. By BENJAMIN W. BALL. 8vo, pp. 436. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, \$3.

Two hundred and fifty poems by a bookish man sensitive to the beauties of natural scenery. In 1848 Emerson wrote to Thoreau: "Young Ball has been to see me. He is a prodigious reader and a youth of great promise." Ball's first book of poetry was published in 1851, and the present volume contains part of that with the poetic product of the subsequent forty years. The author is reputed the best Greek student ever graduated from Dartmouth. He has lived in the ideal, and himself says that his biography would be almost entirely a history of his mental development. His writings show the culture of a scholar, the intellectual force of a thinker, and the "high seriousness" of a refined and earnest soul. He calls conscience the higher reason. The critics will not call this poetry great, but it is more valuable than much which they extol. It is not pessimistic, irreligious, immoral, or low-minded, and in these evil

times this must rate as exceptional praise. Anywhere but in New England, where, on the same half-acre we might almost say, he is crowded by Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and Holmes, Ball would be the pride of his region and a poet of far-seen distinction in the esteem of the cultivated.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Homer and the Epic. By ANDREW LANG, M.A., Hon. LL.D., St. Andrews; Honorary Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 424. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.50.

In addition to the many labored treatises on the reality of a personal Homer and the nonconglomerate nature of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, there comes, at last, a book in which the true lover of literature will delight. Other scholars have doubted or believed in the blind poet of the Grecian isles because of archaeological or historical evidence; while Wilamowitz has concluded that "the *Iliad*, as it stands, is nothing but a cyclic poem," largely because of philological difficulties in the acceptance of the old received belief. But Mr. Andrew Lang, in his *Homer and the Epic*, approaches the whole subject in such a large and catholic spirit as to indicate to the reader in the very opening chapter that no conclusion in the book will be reached through microscopical analysis in any one department of literary criticism alone; and that while due importance will be attached to arguments from archaeology, philology, and history, yet the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* poems must find their defense, in large measure, from the fact that they are poems—and unrivaled poems—of a dawning civilization. Poetry rightly demands a vindication from the larger evidence of poetry and art. The position of the author seems, in part, to be that of Signor Comparetti: "This restless business of analysis, which has lasted so long, impatient of its own fruitlessness, yet unconvinced of it, builds up, and pulls down, and builds again; while its shifting foundations, its insufficient and falsely applied criteria, condemn it to remain fruitless, tedious, and repulsive. The observer marks, with amazement, the degree of intellectual short-sightedness produced by excessive and exclusive analysis. The investigator becomes a kind of microscope man, who can see atoms, but not bodies; motes, and those magnified, but not beams." Yet the careful review of the work of all of the iconoclasts, from Wolf to Wilamowitz, shows how fairly the present Homeric critic approaches his subject. He carefully analyzes, book by book, the entire plot of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, stopping continually to recognize the criticisms and objections which have been made by those who have traversed the ground before him. While no adequate estimate of the value of his work can possibly be made without an open text before us, yet, even to the rapid reader, it is evident that he intends to be fair in his criticisms of those with whom he differs so radically. His conclusion, briefly stated, is that, while the whole matter does not admit of exact demonstration, and must in part be resolved into a question of literary taste, yet the balance of probability is in favor of the old-time view. Homer lived and

wrote; and while we are listening to his song we hear not the diversified and inharmonious notes of many composers, but the single song of one. A prevailing charm of the review is that a poet himself talks of the things that a poet loves. While he balances archæological and philological claims one against another, unconsciously or with keen art he wins us to his views by now vivid, now delicate word paintings, as he rapidly shifts the scenes through the dramatic vistas of camp life and sea wandering. Homer lives to him who loves him. Yet whether the grammarian and the archæologist may ever deduce his actual existence by cold logical process from the data within our possession is more than even Mr. Lang can prophesy.

The Rulers of the Mediterranean. Illustrated. By RICHARD HARDING DAVIS. 16mo, pp. 258. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

Mr. Richard Harding Davis is an expert sight-seer. Indeed, his faculty for seeing and telling what he sees is such that he is now employed to travel in quest of other people's pleasure rather than his own. As a member of the Harpers' staff he recently visited the Mediterranean for the purpose of recording his impressions in the book which is before us. It was a hasty trip to Constantinople, with brief stops at Gibraltar, Tangier, Athens, and Cairo. We see the life of these places through the eye of a trained observer. It is a remarkable eye, quite as notable for what it does not see as for anything else, and for its power of selecting from the throng of details the few real elements of the picture. Some one said that Mr. Davis's earlier book of travel, *The West From a Car-Window*, was photographic, a series of "Kodak shots." That is far from the truth. He is really a painter of the impressionist school, an artist in words, and not many living painters could give us on canvas such vivid representations of life as characterize these fascinating pages.

Abraham Lincoln. In two volumes. By JOHN T. MORSE, Jr. 12mo. Vol. I, pp. 387; Vol. II, pp. 373. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.50 per set.

This volume appears at the first thought a hazardous undertaking on the part of Mr. Morse. So much has been said, and by so many writers, concerning the martyred Lincoln that it would almost seem as if the uttermost fact had been discovered and the final word written regarding him. Like some rich harmony, however, with whose repetition the ear never grows weary, comes the thrilling story of this rise from the backwoodsman's obscurity to the rulership of the republic. The familiar facts of Lincoln's unique life are again spread before the reader in these volumes—his childhood poverty, the shadow upon his boyhood in the death of his mother, his start in life, his law experience, his short career in Congress, and the crowning honor of the presidency. The same rugged personality is again before us with which history has already made us acquainted. Lincoln, in his inflexible adherence to principle, his mastery of men, his subtle humor, his quaint pathos, and, withal, his tendency to melancholy, once more confronts the reader as a character study.

And both the life record of the great President and his personal traits take on a new attraction, as if for the first time we read the story. "Lincoln," says Mr. Morse, "was like Shakespeare, in that he seemed to run through the whole gamut of human nature." Having so touched all the experiences of men, he is in some sense the teacher of all; and though it is "only thirty-three years" since he "became of much note in the world," yet he is henceforth the property of the centuries. "Let us take him," says the author, "simply as Abraham Lincoln, singular and solitary, as we all see that he was; let us be thankful if we can make a niche big enough for him among the world's heroes, without worrying ourselves about the proportion which it may bear to other niches; and there let him remain forever, lonely, as in his strange lifetime, impressive, mysterious, unmeasured, and unsolved." Mr. Morse has contributed a most deserving addition to the series now being issued on "American Statesmen."

Thomas Birch Freeman, Missionary Pioneer to Ashanti, Dahomey, and Egba. By JOHN MILEM, F.R.G.S. 12mo, pp. 160. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The son of a slave, brought from the West Indies to England, married a European serving-woman in the village of Twyford, near the ancient cathedral town of Winchester. Of this union was born in 1809 one child, Thomas, who took the name of Mr. Birch, his father's master, and added Freeman as a last name because he obtained freedom under the Emancipation Act. This boy was converted and religiously trained by the labors of Wesleyan Methodist lay preachers and class leaders. As he grew in knowledge and his soul was filled with the spirit of Christ the African blood in his veins began to yearn toward the Dark Continent; and the story of its wrongs, its sufferings, its horrid superstitions and bloody rites, its brutal barbarism, filled him with such pity that he had no peace till the Wesleyan Missionary Society, after examination, appointed him to the newly formed mission on the Gold Coast, western Africa. The Wesleyan work on that coast began in 1836, by the sending out of Joseph R. Dunwell, the first missionary to the Fantis. In six months he died. Not long after the work there was taken up by the subject of this little volume. One of his earliest tasks in Africa was to dig a grave for the body of his wife, a cultivated English woman who had joined herself to him for the salvation of dusky heathen tribes. Possibly his African blood enabled him to endure the climate which proved so deadly to full-blooded Caucasians. At all events he lived and labored there for over fifty years, dying in 1890 full of years and in great satisfaction over the result of his labors. He witnessed the marvelous development of a work which looks to Lake Chad as its ultimate point, its natural course being, if faithfully prosecuted, "across the swamps to Benin, and around to the bend of the Niger, over the hills to Nkoranza, and thence onward to Timbuktu; through Salagha and the inner lands of the half-pagan, half-Islamite Soudanese, to Sakatu, and thence to Kuka on the Great Lake." Nothing illustrates better the spirit of this man of God than a passage

from the book he wrote near the end of his life, entitled *The Missionary Enterprise No Fiction*. Thus he depicts and encourages the missionary to Africa: "Newly arrived in a burning, torrid clime, the vital question comes, Will he endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, 'as seeing him who is invisible?' Thousands of miles from home and friends, surrounded by a savage people perishing for lack of knowledge, he has no human aid at hand, no earthly friend or counselor; and yet he can say, 'I am not alone, because the Father is with me.' Now comes the test of faith, courage, and patience. Like the husbandman he must wait long for the precious fruit until the Lord send the refreshing rain. He must toil on through many a dark, cloudy, and discouraging day, plowing and sowing in hope. Bearer of the precious seed, he will doubtless weep; but faith beholds in the distance the time of rejoicing in the midst of a glorious harvest. Onward then, O beloved missionary! Onward, lonely messenger of mercy, warrior of Messiah, greatly valorous! When thy hands hang down and thy spirit droops, *remember Calvary*; panting under the burning heat of noon, *remember Calvary*; and should life ebb out, a solitary wanderer for the benefit of mankind in a pagan land, *remember Calvary*. Be this thy banner, thy watchword, thy rallying cry, yea, be this thy very life, to *remember Calvary*, Calvary, with its dying love; Calvary, with its world-crucifying power; Calvary, with its glorious hopes; Calvary, with its wondrous prospects!" The veteran who wrote those words, and who for half a century was "a burning and a shining light" in the pagan darkness of the Gold Coast, died of influenza in August, 1890, the funeral being held in the church where he had preached for many years, and the committal service at the grave being read by a Church of England clergyman.

The Dawn of Italian Independence. Italy from the Congress of Vienna, 1814, to the Fall of Venice, 1849. In two volumes. By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 453; Vol. II, pp. 446. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$4.

Mr. Thayer opens his historical venture with a not unimpressive simile. Comparing the Italian people to an invalid, he declares that their gradual renewal during the first half of the present century "must be described, like the convalescence of a patient from a long sickness, by symptoms, much more than by startling occurrences." This assumption that Italy was in a state of sickness as the century opened is one of the truisms of history. A fair land in its overarching skies, a land rich in memorials of art and literature, a land which looks backward to Hildebrand, Dante, and Galileo, as among the great performers upon the stage of its national life—its former condition is in truth not sketched with too somber colors by Mr. Thayer. "From the time of Charlemagne to the time of Napoleon," he says, "she was never mistress of herself, but always the victim of foreign rapacity. All this was her inheritance, when, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, she seriously resolved to be free." To write this latest page in her national development is an undertaking worthy the pen of the most ambitious historian; to tell the story in so complete a

way as does Mr. Thayer is to give a new value to the romance of modern Italy. The writer is a master of the task he undertakes. Availing himself not only of events, but of "the biography of a representative man," a "custom, or a book, which may often serve better than official documents to reveal the forces working below the surface in Italy," he has woven a narrative which is more than fascinating. As for the men whom he portrays, such characters as Prince Metternich, the diplomatist and intriguer, Victor Emmanuel, with his qualities of excellence, Mazzini, "the great conspirator," and Garibaldi, the patriot, stand forth in all their separate qualities and give vividness to the scene. The part played by the papacy through the whole is also adequately noticed. As a piece of graphic description the account of the death of Gregory XVI and the choice of Pius IX, with which the second volume opens, is unexcelled. In fact, wherever the reader turns he finds himself borne along both by the dramatic quality of the events narrated and by the masterly use of English which the author displays. Altogether his work is one to be much desired.

The Student's Roman Empire. A History of the Roman Empire, from its Foundation to the Death of Marcus Aurelius (27 B. C. to 180 A. D.). By J. B. BURY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 638. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

This volume is included in the well-known "Student's Series," and "bridges the gap between the *Student's Rome* and the *Student's Gibbon*." The period with which it deals is that of the rise and prosperity of the Roman Empire, as Gibbon deals with its decline and fall. The author characterizes this period as "perhaps the most important" of the empire, or, indeed, of Rome. Certainly then flourished most of the emperors whose names are household words, even to those whose knowledge of them extends no further. Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Piso, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines—these are the emperors whose virtues and vices, whose greatness and weaknesses render this period of Roman history one of the most picturesque and instructive in human annals. The author cannot be accused of a brilliant style. The last sentence in the book, "We hear of boys being caught up from the top of a pageant to the awning of the Flavian amphitheater," seems a needlessly abrupt ending. Yet his narrative is painstaking and sufficiently clear, and evinces much learning and diligent research. More, however, than a mere narrative is attempted. Constitutional development and history receive careful attention. Three chapters out of the thirty-one are devoted to literature; while the last chapter discusses "Roman Life and Manners," and presents many details not otherwise readily obtainable. We cordially commend the work as furnishing what is nowhere else contained within the same compass, and as being a really valuable compendium of the period of which it treats. Two colored maps are inserted, each of two pages, respectively of the western and eastern portions of the empire. In the last chapter are one or two illustrations which are especially interesting—one

representing the interior of a room in one of the Pompeian baths, another the method by which wild animals were introduced into the arena. Each chapter is followed by "Notes and Illustrations" of various matters suggested by the text; while an index of twelve three-column pages adds immeasurably to the value of the book as a work of reference. While intended primarily, as its title indicates, for the use of students in the higher schools and universities, it is a volume which will repay careful reading by the general public and be a convenient addition to the scholar's library.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Pulpit and Platform. Sermons and Addresses by Rev. O. H. TIFFANY, D.D., LL.D. Compiled by Rev. J. WESLEY JOHNSTON, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 251. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

Dr. Tiffany's ministerial career was in various respects exceptional. He was one of the most gifted men for public discourse to be found in any denomination. His exquisite sensibilities, and his strong taste for ritual and for the proprieties and æsthetics of worship, might naturally have carried him into the Protestant Episcopal body but for his ardent love and firm attachment to Methodism. He was so made that elegance was a necessity to him; all his ideals of style and utterance and form were elegant; and the wonder was that such a passion for polish and finish should be accompanied by overpowering force and fervor. His rhetoric was stately and sonorous, his oratoric action the perfection of ease and manly grace, while his utterance was crisp, clear, intelligent, and rhythmic in enunciation, emphasis, and inflection. He knew all the stops of rhetoric, and when he chose to pull them he was like the skilled player of an organ. On some special public occasions he was an oratorical splendor. His lavish, luxurious nature might have made his speech tropical and excessively ornate if not guarded by good taste and checked by culture through a familiar acquaintance with, and careful study of, the best models. That the rhetoric on these printed pages seems hardly so sumptuous as we expected only proves that the grandeur and the spell must have been more in the delivery and the personal presence than we were aware of when listening to his sermons and addresses. Dr. Tiffany's style reminds us most of E. P. Whipple. The wisdom of a judicious discrimination is manifest in the admirable representative selection which the skillful compiler, Dr. Johnston, has made from the accumulated manuscripts of a lifetime. From so much material it was probably no easy thing to choose, but Tiffany's best is undoubtedly in this volume.

The Table Talk of Dr. Martin Luther. Illustrated by Joseph M. Gleeson. 16mo, pp. 141. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, ornamental, 75 cents.

Laus Dei. By GEORGE KLINGLE. 16mo, pp. 88. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, ornamental, \$1.

These two booklets are specimens of the exquisitely bound volumes which the publishers prepare for the holiday season. No firm surpasses them in the beauty of their gift books.

The World's Parliament of Religions. An illustrated and popular story of the world's first Parliament of Religions held in Chicago, in connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893. Edited by Rev. JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D., Chairman of the General Committee on Religious Congresses of the World's Congress Auxillary. Vol. I, 8vo, pp. 800. Chicago: The Parliament Publishing Company. Price, cloth, set of two volumes, \$5; leather, \$7.50; full morocco, \$10.

An advanced copy of the first volume of this great work is before us. The most complete and stupendous exposition ever seen was open in Chicago from May to November. The most unique and comprehensive assemblage ever gathered on earth was the World's Parliament of Religions. This volume, with the one which is to follow it, containing the record of that gathering and the only complete and authorized reports of all addresses and papers presented, is such a book as no man ever saw before. That its contents are of intense interest to all sorts and conditions of men goes without saying. More than one hundred and sixty of the leading minds of the world contribute their best thought to its pages. It has two hundred and thirty full-page illustrations, reproductions of photographs of religious subjects gathered in all lands, including in addition pictures of most of the participants in the Parliament. It belongs to a new epoch in the history of religion among men. It will increase, clarify, expand, and enrich our knowledge; and all correct knowledge redounds to the glory of the truth and brings on its boundless and everlasting triumph. Let the light blaze and let the truth stand forth! Because this book is the authentic and trustworthy record of a world event of incalculable moment to all mankind it cannot be ephemeral; it must take its place in permanent literature.

The Cloister and the Hearth; or, Maid, Wife, and Widow. By CHARLES READE. Illustrated from Drawings, by WILLIAM MARTIN JOHNSON. 2 vols., 8vo. Illuminated silk, uncut edges, and gilt top. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, \$8.

This is a most sumptuous and elegant edition of the acknowledged masterpiece of Charles Reade, who, against the claims of music, painting, sculpture, engraving, and the rest, argued that among the fine arts fiction is supreme. To the prosecution of the art to which he was a passionate and patient devotee he brought extraordinary powers. His work was animated and elevated by great and worthy purposes. The illustrator of *Ben Hur* has embellished almost every page of these volumes with suggestive and felicitous decorative designs.

A Motto Changed. By JEAN INGELOW. 12mo, pp. 208. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, \$1.

Just such a story as might be expected from the woman who is fittest to stand close beside Elizabeth Barrett Browning among the literary women of England. Every stream of poetry or prose that flows from Jean Ingelow is pure, sweet, and wholesome as the water that bubbles up through the clean white sand of a boiling spring; it is a water of life in human homes, and makes glad the city of God.

NOTE.—This is the special season of books. The *Review* has endeavored to do justice to the season up to the limits of its space. It will be observed that twenty-four are noticed in the present issue.—ED.

